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THE SHU KING

OR THE

CHINESE HISTORICAL CLASSIC

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The Shu king

THE SHU KING

OR THE

CHINESE HISTORICAL CLASSIC

BEING AN AUTHENTIC RECORD OF THE RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, CUSTOMS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHINESE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TRANSLATED FROM THE ANCIENT TEXT, WITH A COMMENTARY, BY

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INTRODUCTION

THE classic known as the *Shu king* has come down to us from the text compiled by Confucius, or Kong-fu-tse as he was known in China, about the year 500 B.C. The burning of the Books under Che-hwang-ti (B.C. 220), and the wholesale massacre of the Mangwân or Literati by that Nero of the Far East, demolished for a time the records of this priceless work. But on the accession of Wan-ti of the Han dynasty (B.C. 179), the revival of the literature of China was in part accomplished by recourse to those elders of the people who held the historical classic in memory. Such an one was Fuh-sang, an old man of ninety years who lived at Tse-nan-foo in Shantung, who had escaped death by feigning insanity and by the terrible expedient of putting out his own eyes. He was one of the old literati to whom the *Shu king* of Confucius was familiar and mostly known by heart. From him the modern text was chiefly obtained.

But in the year B.C. 140, when Kung Wâng, one of the princes of the Lu State, was demolishing one of the former abodes of Confucius, he came upon a large number of books, among which was the *Shu king*, written in the ancient character. Kung-gan-kwo, a relative of Confucius, deciphered and transcribed this book, which was subsequently published by him, together with a commentary. All editions of the *Shu king* are based upon this ancient relic. It is supposed by some Chinese commentators that the original text consisted of one hundred sections, and in

such cases it will be seen that the book, which now consists of only fifty-seven sections, is incomplete. But there is less cause to enquire concerning that which is supposed to have existed and now to be irretrievably lost, as there is to enquire about the authenticity of what remains to us.*

On this point there can be little doubt whatsoever. For although the book appears to bear marks of derangement, there can be no question as to the authenticity of the record; and whether it be identical with the work ascribed to Confucius, or a work otherwise derived by compilation, it is certainly based upon authentic information, and constitutes the most ancient historical writing which exists in China.

The authenticity of the record is at once proven by reference to certain astronomical data contained in the text, which could not have been retrogressively calculated by its author, unless we are prepared to recognise as anciently current in China a degree of astronomical knowledge for which we have not hitherto given them credit. It is far simpler, and more in accord with the canons of historical criticism, to accept the obvious fact of authenticity from the observed agreement of astronomical data with the historical record.

The *Shu king* contains an historical record embracing a period of 1636 years, from the reign of Yaou, B.C. 2355, to the end of the reign of Ping-wang in B.C. 719. The fact of its being referred to in the Four Books, which are universally referred to Confucius and his immediate disciples, proves the existence of this record before the Books were written; but evidence of a far higher antiquity is to be found in the text itself. The work is divided into six books. The First contains five sections, and is devoted to a record of the days of Yaou and Shun immediately after the Deluge, and closes the reign of the second patriarchal dynasty, which began with Foh-hi in the year B.C. 2943. The Second Book contains four sections, and is concerned with the record of the Hia dynasty, B.C. 2203–B.C. 1766.

* *See* preface to *Medhurst's Trans.*, 1846.

The Third Book contains seventeen sections, and is a record of the Shang dynasty, from B.C. 1766 to B.C. 1154. The Fourth Book contains twelve sections, the Fifth Book eight sections, the Sixth Book eleven sections—these three books being devoted to the records of the Chow dynasty, commencing with Wu-wang in B.C. 1122, and continuing to the time of Ping-wang, who died in B.C. 719. After Ping-wang there were ten successive Emperors to the time of Confucius' birth in B.C. 550. A later work, the *Chun Tsiu*, a chronicle of the princes of Lu, begins where this record leaves off, and is continued till the year B.C. 481. It contains astronomical records as far back as the last year of Ping-wang, and this is a further proof that the Chinese, prior to the date of Confucius, were in the habit of making very careful records, all of which appear to have been accessible to Confucius.

Many commentators and Oriental students of this classic have looked for a stronger religious accent than a merely historical work is designed to afford, and have turned from its reading with a sense of disappointment, discerning in its pages nothing but an indication of primitive nature-worship. But this is altogether unreasonable, and it will no doubt satisfy the average reader if he shall find herein a faithful record of those things with which the work was intended to deal, the knowledge, customs, and policy of the people and their rulers in ancient Chinese life.

Translations of this historical classic have previously appeared in Europe: one by P. Gaubil, the Chinese missionary, in 1770, published at Paris, with revisions and notes by M. de Guignes; another by W. H. Medhurst, in 1846, published at Shanghai. The latter is by far the more valuable, because it contains the whole text of the six books, the letterpress having been effected in China, where the author had every opportunity of ensuring accuracy; and indeed, with the exception of one or two passages of minor importance, it is strictly reliable, and does not differ from the text issued for the use of native scholars who are candidates for the Master of Arts degree. Medhurst

attempts to follow the text literally, thereby reducing very greatly his powers of expression in English, except in the translation of Tsae-Ch'hin's commentary, where he uses a freer style to better effect.

A more recent translation, and by far the most important in the eyes of professed scholars of Chinese, is that by Dr James Legge, issued by the Clarendon Press, 1878, as one of the Sacred Books of China, edited by Prof. F. Max Müller. Unfortunately I have not had an opportunity of consulting this translation before the present work was completed and in the hands of my publishers, and by this circumstance I fear the reader may be in advance of me. At all events he will considerably improve his opportunities, and simultaneously pay me a great compliment, if he will take the Doctor's translation in hand and make a cross-reading from the present version.

In the production of this work, a literal translation has been made in the first place, and from this the meaning, spirit, and tone of the text have been rendered into a more free and lucid phrasing, so that what the text imports is of easier access to the general reader. At the same time the text has been followed as closely as is compatible with clearness of expression.

The commentary on the text forms a supplement to each section in the present edition, reference thereto being made by numbers, so that the reading of the text may continue uninterrupted by marginal or foot notes. In all matters of doubtful reference I have consulted Morrison, who, although now considered to be out of date, is excellent except in matters of chronology, wherein he has very justly been pronounced faulty. Wherever a date is mentioned in the text, or reference is made to points which constitute chronological landmarks, to celestial phenomena, the seasons, eclipses, or star positions—all of which form valuable evidences of authenticity and genuineness—the matter has received careful and independent study, the result of which will be found in the commentary.

In these days of encyclopædic knowledge, it is scarcely

necessary to refer to Confucius himself, except, perhaps, in the briefest possible manner. It is known from the writings of Meng-tze (Mencius), who doubtless had immediate access to authentic records, that the great utilitarian philosopher was born in the province of Lu, on the 12th December B.C. 550, that is to say, on the 27th day of the tenth month according to the Chinese calendar, and that he died on the 18th day of the second month, in the year B.C. 477, at the ripe age of seventy-three years. Many centuries before this date, as will be found in the following pages, the rulers of the principalities of China were in the habit of attending the Imperial Court at definite times to pay tribute and do homage to the Emperor, whose authority was everywhere acknowledged. But after the ninth century B.C., the princes revolted against the Emperor and carried on seditious warfare among themselves. They wrote satires against the Emperor and employed the poets to ridicule him in odes. Intestinal wars ravaged the country, the crops were neglected, the rivers overran their banks, and all was confusion, anarchy, and destitution. This state of affairs grew in vehemence and extent, till the whole country was affected by it. Then arose the great political reformer Confucius, who at the early age of thirty years travelled from province to province, exhorting the people to return to their former civil ways, and to pay homage to the Emperor, so that the kingdom might be established in peace and prosperity once more. He compiled and published the ancient records of the country, dealing with its literature, history, philosophy, polity; and wrote a particular record of the province of Lu, in a work called *Chun-Tsiu*, "Spring and Autumn." The Teacher of Ten Thousand Ages, as the Chinese call their great philosopher, compiled and published the Five Books (*Wuh King*) under the direct patronage of the Emperor King-wang. They supplied the need of the times, and rapidly replaced the degenerate teachings of hired literati and political opportunists, to which the country was then intellectually subject. The egotism of Che-wang-ti, some three centuries later, compassed the destruction of all the

books held in reverence by the learned men of China; and but for the fortunate discovery of a copy as already mentioned, it is fairly reasonable to suppose that the history of China would have been so obscured and lost in traditional error, as to have given Che-wang-ti some grounds for asserting that he was the first who ever ruled over China, and the founder of the Empire.

To those of the Western world who ignorantly imagine that the Chinese have no literature, no certain historical records, and no claim to scientific knowledge, the *Shu king* will come somewhat in the nature of a revelation. To those who are already better acquainted with the history of the Yellow Empire, its literature, its manners and customs, the present translation and commentary will, it is to be hoped, present some features of interest not readily perspicuous to the lay leader.

THE AUTHOR.

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THE SHU KING

THE HISTORICAL CLASSIC OF CHINA

BOOK I

THE BOOK OF YU[1]

SECTION I

THE CANON OF YAOU[2]

Now, regarding the ancient Emperor Yaou it is said (he was) exceeding worthy, pious, and intelligent; his actions and thoughts were reposeful, sincere, courteous, yet capable of yielding; and his renown extended to the four corners of the world, reached up to the skies, and (sounded the abysm of) earth.[3]

He showed his talent and virtue in binding together the nine degrees of kinship which, being thus in accord, equalised, and enlightened, reflected their virtues in equal degree upon all the people of the Empire. These, his own people, being instructed, rendered the various states of the Empire harmonious, and the black-haired[4] people, ah! even they were impressed by this compact.

Then were commanded Hî and Ho, in due accord with the expansive heavens, to determine and portray the courses of the sun, moon, and stars, with the asterisms,[5] and duly to inform the people concerning the seasons.

Separately, he directed Hî's younger brother to reside at

Yué, called the Eastern Valley, reverently to hail the rising sun, arrange and order the vernal undertakings, to equalise the days by the Stars of the Bird,[6] in order to observe mid-spring, the people on the move, and birds and beasts pairing and copulating.

Further, he directed Hî's younger brother to reside at the Southern Boundary to adjust and order the solstitial changes, having respect to the limit when days are longest, by the Star of Fire, so to determine mid-summer, the people moving afield, birds and beasts moulting and shedding.[7]

Separately he commanded Ho's younger brother to reside in the West, called the Dark Valley, having respect to the declining sun, adjusting and arranging the autumnal completions, the equalisation of the nights, by the culminating Star of The Void,[8] in order to determine mid-autumn, the people taking rest, the birds and beasts sleek and plump.

Moreover, he directed Ho's third brother to reside at the northern region called the Dismal City, adequately to observe the repetitions and changes, the days at their shortest with the Star Maou, in order to regulate mid-winter, the people at home, the birds and beasts downy and sleek.[9]

The Emperor said: List ye, Hî and Ho; the full year is three hundred and sixty-six days, requiring an intercepted month to establish the four seasons and complete the solar year. Regulate thus carefully the hundred labours, and abundant merit will be universally diffused.[10]

The Emperor said: Who will seek, in accord with these times, to be elevated to employment? Fang-tse replied: Your son and heir, Chu, is becoming intelligent. The Emperor said: Go to! insincere and contentious, what can he do?[11]

The Emperor said: Who will seek to be in accord with my method of government? Huan-Taou replied: Most Excellent, there is the Chief of Works, who concentrates his business and displays capacity. The Emperor said: Nonsense! When work is not about he can talk, but when employed he betrays himself; he has but the semblance of respect and is a mere sycophant and a bombast.

The Emperor said: President of the Four Mountains, the ever-increasing flood is disastrous; spreading abroad it encompasses the hills, and overtops the earthworks; vast and extensive it rises to heaven, the lower people sorrowing greatly.[12] If there be any one of ability I will put him to manage it. They all replied: Behold! there is Kwa! The Emperor said: Go to! This is foolishness. He contravenes the orders,[13] and ruins his colleagues. The President said: Nevertheless, try if he can effect this matter only. The Emperor said: Let him go and be careful. So for nine years he was concerned with the work, but did not succeed.

The Emperor said: O thou President of the Four Mountains, I have been on the throne for seventy years; you are able to carry out my instructions, and I will resign my throne to you![14] The President replied: Poorly qualified, I should only disgrace the Imperial Throne! The Emperor replied: Display the brilliant and set forth the humble. All the Court then addressed the Emperor and said: There is a solitary man[15] of low degree, called Yu-Shun. The Emperor replied: Good! I have heard of him. But what are his qualifications? The President replied: He is the son of a blind man[16] who is foolish: his mother is not sincere, and his brother Siang[17] is tyrannous; yet has he been able to regulate them by his filial piety, gradually advancing them to self-control, and so avoiding excess of evil. The Emperor said: It will be well to take him on trial: I will attach my daughters to him, observing his method of action with these my two daughters.[18]

The matter being arranged, he sent away his two daughters to the Kwei junction[19] and married them to Yu; the Emperor saying: Be careful![20]

NOTES ON SECTION I

[*The following Notes refer to the numbered passages in the text.*]

[1] Yu was the name adopted by the Emperor Shun on his accession to empire. He is variously referred to as Yu, Shun, and Yu Shun. As to the authorship of this ancient work the reader is referred to the Preface. There is no doubt that it was written in the twentieth century B.C. during the empire of the Hia dynasty. It is referred to and quoted by Confucius.

[2] Yaou was one of the Patriarchal Dynasty, which began in Fuh-hi about B.C. 2943. Yaou began to reign in B.C. 2355. The canon is so named on account of its dealing with the standards of social and political life instituted by the Emperor.

[3] The exceeding merits of Yaou obtained for him a degree of celebrity among the Chinese which, for its universality, is described as "reaching up to heaven and sounding the abysm of earth." Of him Confucius said: "Only Heaven is perfect, and only Yaou can embody it."

[4] The "black-haired people" was the name given to hillmen and border tribes not included in the Chung-kwo or Chinese nation proper. The Tartars were probably included among them. They annually paid tribute through the persons of their chiefs at the Chinese Court.

[5] There were twenty-eight asterisms indicated by the ancient Chinese astronomers. Their limits were determined by the luni-solar conjunctions and were each of 12 degrees $51\frac{3}{7}$ minutes in extent.

North and south of the ecliptic belt were other stars which did not enter into these asterisms. The Chinese acknowledged three lights—the Sun, the Moon, and the Planets—beside the asterisms, and it is probable that the planets are here referred to, the word *sing* indicating either a star or a planet. In referring to any particular planet, however, a descriptive adjunct is used, as *Mo-sing*, the wood-star, for

Jupiter; *Kin-sing*, the metal-star, for Venus; *Ho-sing*, the fire-star, for Mars, etc.

[6] The asterisms were divided into four groups of seven asterisms each. The four groups marked the seasons. To each was given a distinctive name. "The Red Bird" comprised the seven constellations, the middle one of which culminated at sunset in the middle of the spring quarter. The quarter takes its name from the middle asterism of the seven.

[7] The "Star of Fire" or the Fire-star is the central constellation of the seven which culminated in the evening of midsummer. It is identical with the constellation called *Fang* in Scorpio. The summer quarter was distinguished by the name of *The Azure Dragon*, which is another name for Scorpio.

[8] The star *Heu*, called the Void, is the centre constellation of the seven which go under the name of *The Black Warrior*, another name for Aquarius. This constellation culminated at sunset in the autumn.

[9] The star called *Maou* is identical with the Pleiades, and constitutes the middle asterism in the quarter known as *The White Tiger*, which culminated at sunset in the winter.

The following table will be found useful:—

STARS CULMINATING AT SUNSET.

SPRING.—The "Red Bird" Quarter.
Cancer—Leo—Virgo.
Tsing, Kwei, Lew, Sing, Chang, Yih, Chin.

SUMMER.—The "Azure Dragon" Quarter.
Libra—Scorpio—Sagittarius.
Keo, Kang, Teh, Fang, Sin, Wei, Ki.

AUTUMN.—The "Black Warrior" Quarter.
Capricorn—Aquarius—Pisces.
Tow, Niu, Nyu, Heu, Wei, Shih, Peih.

WINTER.—The "White Tiger" Quarter.
Aries—Taurus—Gemini.
Kwei, Low, Wei, Maou, Peih, Tshan, Tse.

In this table some of the constellations appear to be duplicated, but such is not really the case, as they are

written differently in the Chinese and carry different significations, though apparently pronounced very similarly. Thus *Kwei* in Cancer means "the Imp" or Goblin, and *Kwei* in Aries means "the Stride"; and similarly, *Wei* in Sagittarius or the tail of Scorpio means "the tail," and consists of nine stars in the shape of a hook, like the tail of the Scorpion, while *Wei* in Aries means "the stomach," and consists of some stars in *Musca Borealis.*

The Chinese anciently fixed the beginning of spring when the sun was in the middle of Aquarius, equi-distant from the winter solstice and the vernal equinox; and the precession which has since taken place shows the date of the present record to have been made before the days of Chuen Hio, who began to reign in B.C. 2503. We here read of the Emperor Yu checking these calendaric points by reference to astronomical positions of his day. Thus Yue was appointed to notice whether the Star of the Bird coincided with the middle of spring, *i.e.* whether the star culminated at sunset when the sun was 45° from the winter solstice. It is evident, therefore, that Yu did not originate the calendar, but followed and confirmed the calculations made under Chuen Hio in B.C. 2448.

(See Mailla's trans. of *Kang Muh.*)

The sixty-year cycle used in Chinese history is known to be of even more ancient date, having commenced in B.C. 2696.

[10] The Antediluvian year consisted of twelve months of thirty days each. This corresponded neither with the solar revolution nor with the luni-solar conjunctions, and to adjust the calendar to astronomical positions the Chinese made an intercalation of seven moons in a period of nineteen years. Had they not done so, the seasons would gradually have worked through the calendar and become confused, nature and art not being in accord. Therefore Yu ordained the necessary intercalary periods so that the various industries might be duly regulated by a rightly-constructed calendar.

[11] The great integrity of Yu is here manifest in that he would not advance his own son, knowing that to do so would entail confusion on the whole country.

In the following paragraph the text makes use of the quaint expression "up to heaven," signifying thereby that the Chief of Works was a stuck-up and bombastic fellow; it is a term of excess, and used similarly to the expression "up to heaven, and down to earth," as was said of Yu's fame, signifying thereby that it was universal.

[12] The "President of the Four Mountains" denotes the chief of the four princes ruling over the four quarters of the Empire. These four mountains were appointed by the Emperor to be the seats of government in the Empire, and periodically he made excursions to these eminences in order to inspect the condition of the country.

[13] The phrase "contravenes the orders" is rendered literally by the words "squares orders." The circular form connotes the idea of motion, as in the expression "the wheel of the law," or "wheels of God," signifying that which is put in motion, as of the will and laws of Heaven. But the square form connotes the idea of resistance, immobility, establishment, and obstinacy; so that "squaring the orders" literally conveys the meaning of not executing the behests of the Emperor, which is equivalent to arresting and opposing them.

[14] The Emperor Yaou, who began to reign in B.C. 2355, is here shown to be possessed of the will to abdicate in favour of a competent successor. His choice falls on the chief of the princes, who demurs because he thinks himself to lack the necessary qualifications. The Emperor then calls for the nomination of some person who is brilliant in qualities but humble in mind, and Yu Shun is named.

[15] The expression "a solitary man" means that Yu was unmarried, not that his disposition was in any way reclusive.

[16] The expression "a blind man" does not here refer to the condition of his sight, but to his stumbling, wayward character. Ku-su was the father of Yu Shun, and his "mother" here mentioned is said by commentators to be his stepmother, the second wife of Ku-su.

[17] His brother Siang was a half-brother, being brother

by a second marriage, according to the commentary of Tsae-Chin.

[18] The commentator above mentioned says the daughters were named Go-hwang, Nyu-ying, "the imperial damsel" and "the flowery maid." They were put to serve Yu Shun in his home.

[19] *Kwei-juy* or Kwei junction was the place where Shun resided. The word *juy* is equivalent to Lat. *jugum*, Sansk. *yuj*, to join, and signifies the point where one stream runs into another, as a tributary to a river.

[20] In the Book of Ceremonies, the *Li King*, the marriage ceremony concludes with the admonition to the bride, "Go home and be careful and respectful." Yaou makes use of this expression in consigning his daughters to the service of Yu Shun.

SECTION II

THE CANON OF SHUN

Now in regard to the ancient Emperor Shun, it is said, he was a repetition of glory, similar to the Emperor (Yaou); profoundly wise, accomplished, brilliant, adaptable, reverential, sincere, and righteous; which modest virtues came into recognition, so that he was appointed in order to officiate.[1]

Carefully he preserved the Five Standards[2] till the Five Virtues were capable of being followed; being charged with the hundred calculations, they were seasonably arranged; receiving at the Four Gates,[3] all were commodiously disposed, and being sent to the Great Mountain's foot, terrific tempests and thunder-storms notwithstanding, he did not falter.

The Emperor said: Come thou, Shun: I have studied your works and observed your speech, and your conversation has been praiseworthy for these three years; therefore ascend the Imperial Throne. Shun refused out of virtue and did not aspire to it.

But in the first month, on the first day, he received the conclusion (in the temple) of the accomplished ancestor.[4] He examined the pearled sphere and the jewelled scale, in order to certify the seven controllers.[5]

He then offered a sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler,[6] made sacrifice to the Six Venerable Things,[7] reverently regarded

the mountains and rivers, and looked around on the host of the departed.[8]

He collected the five kinds of sceptres of office, and at the end of a month he gave daily audience to the Four Great Chiefs, and the host of officials, and restored the sceptres to the numerous chiefs.[9]

Yearly, in the second month, he journeyed eastward, going about the territories; and arriving at Tae-tsung, he made a pyre[10] and surveyed the boundary of the lands to the hills and rivers. He then gave audience to the Eastern Chiefs with their five gems, their three silks, and their two live and one dead animals[11] as ceremonials. He adjusted the four seasons, the months and the first days, and tested the notes of music; the lengths, the capacities and the weights. He arranged the Five Ceremonies and adjusted the Five Implements. This being done, he made his return.

In the fifth month he went southward inspecting the territories, and, arrived at the Southern Mountain,[12] he followed out the Tae Mountain ceremony. In the eighth month he went westward inspecting the territories, and arriving at the Western Mountain, he followed the same course as before. In the eleventh month he went northwards, making inspection of the territories, and arriving at the Northern Mountain, he carried out the western ceremonies. Then he returned, and coming to the polite ancestor, he made use of a single victim.[13]

In five years he made one inspection of the territories, and the host of chiefs had four audiences to make report and declaration verbally, he (at the same time) intelligently examining their merits, giving carriages and robes to those of distinction.

He divided the Empire into twelve districts, and appointed the twelve hills and enlarged the rivers.

He gave orders regarding the criminal punishments and banishments, and the modifications of the five punishments; that the whip should be for the punishing of officers, the birch for the punishment of students, and that money should be for the punishment of the ransomed.[14] In-

advertence and misfortune he ordered to be forgiven, but the presumptuous and incorrigible to be punished to the extreme. "Be ye careful! be ye careful! and in the execution of punishments, be ye merciful!" he said.

He banished the Chief of Works to the Dark Island, he restrained Huan-taou at Tsung Hill, expelled the three Meaou to the San-Wei, and altogether reduced Kwan at the Yu Mountain, four vicious parties; when both great and small were everywhere in agreement.

In twenty and eight years the Emperor died,[15] the people feeling they had lost a father or mother, and for three years within the four seas arrested and silenced were the eight kinds of music.[16]

In the first month on the first day of the month Shun went up to the ancestral temple.[17]

In consultation with the Four Chiefs he threw open the Four Gates, brightened all eyes, and advanced general knowledge.

He had speech with the Twelve Patriarchs, saying: Concerning sustenance, do you have regard to the seasons. Be kind to the far-off and utilise those that are near; be kind to the virtuous, faithful to the just, while you eradicate the perverted man; then even the barbarians will induce one another to be submissive.

Shun said: O you Four Chiefs, if there be one who can dignify merit, and transact the Emperor's affairs, I will make him fill the place of Universal Calculator, to illustrate all sorts of matters, and reduce everything to order. Those assembled replied: There is Lord Yu, in the office of Surveyor General. The Emperor said: Good! O Yu, in the past you have justly disposed the waters and the earth, but now, in this position, you must use great strength. Yu bowed and bent his head, declining in favour of Tseih and Si-eh together with Kaou-Yaou. The Emperor said: Good! But do you go and get it done.[18]

The Emperor said: Keh,[19] the black-haired people are afflicted with hunger; do you, Prince Tseih, sow seasonably the different kinds of grain.

The Emperor said: Sieh, the people are not harmonious, the five relationships are not observed; do you, who are now the Public Instructor, carefully propagate the Five Precepts [20] to produce gentleness.

The Emperor said: Kaou-Yaou, the barbarians disturb the Southern Territory, robbing, murdering, plundering, and rebelling; do you become Judge of the Five Punishments to restrain them, of the five restraints, of the three places, of the five banishments and occupations, of the five occupations and the three distances.[21] But be thou discerning and able to be obeyed.

The Emperor said: Who is there in agreement with my various works? They all said: Chuyeh! The Emperor said: Right! O Chu, you of the public works![22] Chu bowed low, bending his head, and declined in favour of Shu, Tsiang, or Pih-Yu. The Emperor said: Just so, but do you go, for you are suitable.

The Emperor said: Who is there intimate with my highlands and lowlands, my pastures and woods, birds and beasts? They all said: Yih is the man. The Emperor said: Correct! O, Yih! you are my forest officer. Yih, bowing, bent his head, declining in favour of Choo, Hoo, Heang, or Peh. The Emperor said: True! but go and do it, you are well suited.

The Emperor said: Oh you, of the Four Mountains, is there one who can regulate for me the Three Ceremonies?[23] They all replied: Pih-E. The Emperor said: O Pih, do you undertake the arrangements of the ancestral temple, day and night: be respectful, upright, and pure. Pih bowed and bent his head, declining in favour of Kwei and Lung. The Emperor said: True! but do you go and be gracious.

The Emperor said: Kwei, I command you to regulate music and to instruct the eldest sons to be honest but gentle, liberal while austere, firm without oppression; expeditious, but without disrespect. Poetry is the expression of feeling, and singing lengthens the words; the notes should accord with the measure.[24] The reed regulates the voice and the eight instruments, and you must harmonise

them all, but without disturbing the due order. Gods and men will then approve.

The Emperor said: Lung! I am distressed by slanderous words and pernicious acts, which alarm and disturb my people; I therefore appoint you to the office of Censor, day and night, to receive my orders, which alone are rightful.[25]

The Emperor said: O you twenty and two persons, be ye respectful; and in agreement with the seasons, illustrate the celestial operations.[26] Every three years he tested their merits, and after three tests he degraded or elevated the foolish and intelligent until all merit was equally diffused, while he separated and dissociated the three Meaou.[27]

Shun had been born thirty years when called to office. Thirty years he was Regent, and for fifty years he governed alone. Then he ascended afar and died.[28]

NOTES ON SECTION II

[1] Shun was called by the Emperor Yaou to officiate as ruler, jointly with himself; as appears more clearly in the last paragraph of this section. He seems to have occupied a position similar to that of a Prince Regent before taking over the empire.

[2] The Five Standards here mentioned are the five virtues: filial love, loyalty, marital fidelity, obedience, and sincerity. Shun, as Public Instructor under the Emperor Yaou, inculcated these canons of virtue between parents and children, the Emperor and his people, husbands and wives, masters and servants, and between man and friend, so that they came to be thoroughly established.

[3] The Imperial Palace was so constructed that its four principal gates opened upon the four quarters of the Empire. The princes of the territories coming to Court were entertained at these gates and afterwards conducted to the Imperial presence. Shun appears to have excelled in his courtesy to these guests and vassals of the Emperor.

[4] The text might, perhaps, be more exactly rendered,

"In the first month, on a propitious day," instead of "In the first month on the first day." But as the first day of the month was accounted a fortunate day, the point mainly lies in the particular month in which Shun celebrated his appointment in the temple of Yaou's first ancestor, who may have been Chuen or Chuen-Gaou, or even Ti-Kao, his immediate predecessor on the throne. The meaning of the text, however, is clear. At this time Shun and Yaou went to the ancestral temple, where the latter handed over the government to Shun, 5th February, B.C. 2285.

[5] The pearled sphere was a celestial globe set with pearls to represent the constellations, which protruded sufficiently to enable an observer to feel them in the dark. The jewelled scale was a tube mounted upon a quadrant like the sextant of modern use, and was used to determine the altitudes and declinations of the planets. The seven controllers were the Sun, Moon, and five stars. These latter corresponded to the five principal things (the *Wuh Hing*), namely: earth, wood, fire, metal, and water; or, as they are sometimes called, "the five useful things." Saturn governed earth; Jupiter, wood; Mars, fire; Venus, metal; Mercury, water. The Sun governed life and time, while the Moon governed work and place. Elsewhere it is said by Tsae Chin that "the Sun presides over the male and vital principle, while the Moon presides over the female and functional principle." The Sun, Moon and five planets are called the "seven controllers" or disposers, a term which is exactly equivalent to the Hebrew word *Shemayim*, generally translated "the heavens," *i.e.* the heavenly bodies. In ancient times the belief that the planets were, under God, the controllers of human destiny, and that their configurations influenced the seasons of the produce of nature, is one that is still held by the whole of the Asiatic world, and has many adherents in the West.

[6] The Supreme Ruler *Shang-ti* is equivalent to the Western concept of the Deity. Beneath Shang-ti were the gods, spirits, saints, planetary spirits, spirits of the earth, and man.

[7] "The Six Venerable Things" in the matter of sacrifice

were the seasons, Sun, Moon, stars, temperature, and humidity. To these "venerable" things due consideration was given by the ancients, who observed in them the expressions of Heaven's will to man. It is possible that some wise ruler appointed these sacrifices knowing that they would not be overlooked and forgotten as readily as would the varying aspects of nature when no special attention was called to them. The sacrifice impelled due consideration of these things, and put man's mind into accord with his environment.

[8] "The host of the departed" may rightly be rendered "the tombs of the departed," for it was customary to entomb all worthy men upon the hillsides, the more elevated places being reserved for those of regal virtue. It may be supposed, therefore, that a great number of such tombs marked the resting-place of Shun's predecessors.

[9] "The five kinds of sceptres" mentioned in ancient writings were: *The Pillar*, a hexagonal column, held by dukes; *the Rod*, a straight flat sceptre rounded on one edge, held by a marquis; the *Bent Rod*, similar to the Rod, but curved on the rounded edge, held by an earl; the *Shield of Grain*, a circular slab on which are depicted some ears of corn around an open circle which denotes a field. This was held by a viscount. *The Shield of Grass* was similar to the above, but was adorned with grass markings instead of corn, and was held by a baron. The Emperor's Sceptre of State was a simple rod surmounted by a disc representing the Sun. The Cap of State was solid, and perforated at the base with incisions which corresponded in size and shape with the ends of the sceptres, so that they might be inserted by those who presented them as a proof of their genuineness. But this practice appears to have originated in the days of the Chow dynasty, when disloyalty, conspiracy, and treachery began to spread under a tyrannous government. At the end of an Emperor's reign it was customary for the nobility to hand in their sceptres, and if after audience with the succeeding Ruler they were found worthy, their sceptres were restored to them.

[10] The expression "made a pyre" refers to the sacrifice made at each of the four quarters of the Empire, of which the eastern centre was Tae-Tsung in the Shan-tung district. "The five gems" allude to the five sceptres. The "three silks" were light red, dark blue, and yellow, and were worn by the heirs of chiefs or their representatives.

[11] "The two live animals" were respectively a lamb, led by a duke; and a goose, led by a high official. The "one dead" was a wild fowl, held by a scholar. In thus presenting the gifts of the Empire in kind, they also presented them in person, so that "the five gems, the three silks," etc., may be taken to mean both gift and giver.

[12] The Southern Mountain was Hwang-shan in the Hunan territory.

[13] The Western Mountain was Hwa-shan in Shan-se; and the Northern was Hung-shan, on the borders of Chih-li and Shan-se. In all these four hills the Emperor performed the same ceremonies.

[14] The Five Punishments were, death, banishment, the whip or scourge, the birch-rod, and the fine. The severity and nature of these punishments underwent considerable revision in process of time, but the government of Shun was temperate and at the same time strenuous, aiming at the establishment of virtue and justice by correction of such as were capable of amendment, and the rooting out of incorrigibles. Hence he banished the four chief offenders to the limits of the kingdom; the Chief of Works, previously referred to as an incompetent bombast (see Section I.), he banished to the North, Huan-Taou to the South, the three Meaou—here regarded as one man—to the West; and Kwan, the dissolute nobleman, to the East.

The Five Punishments, which were related to the five unpardonable offences, are thus stated by Tsae-Chin: marking the face, slitting the nose, breaking the feet, castration, and decapitation. These extreme punishments, which were inflicted on the unpardonable offender, were for such as killed and wounded others, robbers, adulterers, and the dissolute; and because of the great difference in the

nature and severity of the different punishments, the Emperor cautions the rulers of the people to be careful in their judgments and temperate in their sentences.

[15] After Shun had governed for twenty-eight years, the Emperor Yaou died. In the last paragraph of this Section it is stated that Shun sat on the throne for thirty years as Regent, *i.e.* with Yaou, so that some discrepancy may be imagined to exist. But the earlier part of this Section records the fact that it was not until three years after Shun's appointment to the work of the Empire that Yaou commanded him to ascend the Imperial throne. If, therefore, we understand Yaou to have raised Shun to the throne in the third year of his official work, and to have died in the twenty-eighth year, which is quite in agreement with the text, the total years of Shun's ministration under Yaou would be thirty years. Now, as Shun began to reign in B.C. 2255, he must have been born in B.C. 2315, for he was thirty years old when called to office in B.C. 2285, and he was thirty years in the service of Yaou as Regent. In B.C. 2255, therefore, the good Emperor Yaou died, having reigned alone for seventy-two years, and jointly with Shun for twenty-eight years—in all, one hundred years. The expression "he died" is rendered in the text "ascended and descended," which refers to the separation of the spiritual soul and the animal soul, the one going up to heaven and the other down to earth, according to the ancient belief of the people. (Cf. Eccles. xii. 7.)

Previous to Yaou the Emperors and Patriarchs of China were:—Ti-Kao, B.C. 2425; Chuen-Hio, B.C. 2504; Shao-Hao, B.C. 2588; Hwang-ti, B.C. 2688; Shing-Nung, B.C. 2828: Foh-hi, B.C. 2943. Before Foh-hi there were Yiu-Chao-Shi and others whose dates are unknown.

[16] "The eight kinds of music" referred to were the instruments made of metal, stone, bamboo, shell, earthenware, wood, leather, and string. The Li King enjoins that an Emperor should be mourned for three months, during which no music is played; but so deep and sincere was the grief of the people on losing their old Emperor, who had reigned

over them and directed their affairs so wisely for one hundred years, that they gave him the honours reserved only for parents, and for three years the kingdom was in mourning.

[17] At the commencement of Shun's regency he went to the temple of Yaou's ancestors; and he now, after three years' mourning, celebrates his accession in the same manner, and announces that the affairs of State shall be proceeded with, greatly to the satisfaction of the princes.

[18] This reference to Yu's disposition of the waters of the earth appears to have reference to works of irrigation undertaken by him in his capacity of Surveyor-General, in virtue of which Shun appoints him to the position of Prime Minister, or Universal Calculator.

[19] Keh or Khe was the family name of the Prince Tseih. Its use may here be regarded as signifying either Shun's intimacy with him, or as a mark of approval and favour.

[20] "The Five Precepts" were those which regulated the conduct of parents and children, rulers and subjects, masters and men, husbands and wives, friends and associates, as already detailed in a previous paragraph (see Note 2, Book I., Section II.).

[21] This sentence indicates that there were five modes of punishment, and three places in which the punishment was to be carried out, namely, in the court, in the open field, and in the market-place, according to the commentator Kung-she. But Tsae-chin differs in opinion, and says that capital offences were punished in the market-place; that castration was performed in a secret apartment, and the milder forms of expiation were performed under cover. This seems in accord with the law which provides that offences which did not entail death should be expiated under cover, lest the cold should strike a wound and so cause death, which would have been an excessive penalty. This statement is in accord also with the benevolent justice of the Emperor Shun.

It has been already shown that great offenders were

banished to the limits of the kingdom in the four quarters, and consequently we may assume that places less distant were determined to offenders of less degree.

[22] Chu, Chuy, or Chuyeh is the name of a Minister of State. Shu, Tsiang, and Pih-yu were also in office under the Emperor. They appear to have been so named from their knowledge of wild beasts.

[23] "The Three Ceremonies" or sacrifices are those which are made in respect of the gods, the ancestors, and the genii of the earth.

[24] Poetry and music were much cultivated in ancient China, and a public Instructor of Music and Literature was strictly enjoined to observe certain standards.

The notes of music were standardised by means of pipes or reeds of a certain aperture and of various lengths.

The same pipes were used as measures of capacity, and also of weight and length. It is interesting to note that the yellow tube contained 1200 grains of millet which weighed 12 penny-weights; two of these tubes made 24 dwts., or 1 Chinese ounce. Sixteen ounces made a Chinese pound; and 30 lbs. made a quarter, 4 quarters being 1 hundredweight. Thus all measures were standardised by notes of music, which shows a high state of civilisation to have prevailed in these early ages. The tubes were twelve in number, corresponding to the notes of the gamut. Each tube was nine-tenths of a Chinese inch in circumference inside the bore, and the length of the yellow tube was 9 inches. The notes of music were therefore first determined, and from these the various measures of length, capacity, and weight were derived. Hence the expression, "the notes should accord with the measure." Much of the poetry of China was set to music; and in order to obviate the tendency of writers to indulge in trivial themes, only such as could sustain the test of being sung "with lengthened words" were recognised. This consonance of poetical theme and musical movement was therefore strictly enjoined upon Kwei, the Public Instructor.

[25] Lung was appointed to be Censor at Court, and to

attend upon Shun to receive his commands, and none but those which came through Lung were thereafter to be officially recognised. This indicates that spurious decrees and orders must have been frequently issued by agitators and officials in various districts, a condition of things which the Emperor intended to correct by appointing a Censor.

[26] The exhortation to the twenty-two officers of State to bring their actions into accord with celestial operations was founded upon the most ancient belief in planetary influence upon human life and mundane affairs, and very elaborate regulations were issued by the Minister of Instruction, acting in conjunction with the Calculator, to enforce the observance of propitious times for the various civil, social, and domestic duties. Consequently, in the sincere belief that the work of Heaven was expressed in the celestial motions, Shun admonished his officers to "illustrate the celestial operations" by harmonising their own lives and by enjoining obedience to the laws of nature in others. Solomon said there was "a time for everything and a season for every purpose under the heavens," and it appears but a pious maxim that, if the heavenly bodies were appointed "for signs and for seasons," due regard should be had to their configurations, conjunctions, etc. The "twenty-two persons" mentioned were the President, the nine Ministers first appointed, and the twelve Governors of the provinces.

[27] With the exception of particular cases, which merited express attention, every Minister of State met with his due reward or punishment once in nine years. Shun, like a good gardener, examined the roots of his plants from time to time, knowing well that if there were any evil there it would speedily extend through the whole system of branch and leaf and flower. He nourished that which was good, and eradicated that which was evil, so that the people, having worthy rulers over them, were confirmed in well-doing by the force of example.

[28] Shun was born in B.C. 2315, became Minister of

State in B.C. 2287, Regent under Yaou in B.C. 2285, Emperor in B.C. 2255, and died in B.C. 2205. He was succeeded by Ta Yu, the great Yu, who founded the Hia dynasty.

It is customary to say of a departed Emperor that he has "ascended on high."

SECTION III

THE DELIBERATIONS OF TA-YU

Now regarding the sage Ta-Yu, it is said that his writings and teachings were spread abroad to the Four Seas, being respectfully submitted to the Emperor.[1]

He said: When a prince feels the responsibility of his State, and the Minister feels the obligations of his office, the government will be righteous, and the common people will conform to virtue.[2]

The Emperor replied: Very true! and, in fact, if you can fulfil this excellent doctrine, there will be no merits hidden away in the wilderness with neglected worthies, and all districts will be at peace. But you must have regard to all, giving up your own objects to follow the needs of others, and not oppressing the poor and miserable.[3] Only the Emperor could do all this.

Yih said: Oh! the Emperor's virtue covers all and is all-encircling. He is sagacious and godly, and worshipful and well disposed; and supreme Heaven having regard to his principles, has extended his authority to the Four Seas and made him the chief of the Empire.[4]

Yu said: To follow the right path is auspicious, and to walk in unrighteous paths is disastrous; and is like the shadow and the echo.[5]

Yih said: Ah! be careful! Be cautious in strange ways, in case you err in the use of the law. Do not

saunter in pleasant ways, nor devote yourself to luxury. Employing talent, listen not to traducers. Extirpate the wicked without hesitation. Do not effect doubtful plans. Then all projects will be successful. Do not contravene right principles in order to gain the people's plaudits; but do not oppose the people in order to indulge your own desires. Be not indifferent nor incapable, and the surrounding barbarians will acknowledge your sovereignty.

Yu said: Oh, your majesty! Take into consideration that virtue consists in good government, and government in nourishing the people. Let water, fire, metal, wood, earth and grain be regulated. Advance virtue; increase commodities, promote generation, and create union. Let these nine affairs be well regulated; and these nine being well arranged, let them be chanted. In warning others use discreet language; in reproving them, use severity; stimulate them with nine odes, and occasion no confusion.

The Emperor replied: Very true! The ground being tilled, the heavens will complete the work. The six provenders and the three precepts properly arranged, ten thousand descendants continually resting thereon; this is meritorious.[6]

The Emperor said: Come thou, Yu! I have been seated on the imperial throne for thirty and three years; and am now old and decrepit and fatigued with much action. Be thou the cause of avoiding negligence and take care of my people.[7]

Yu replied: My virtues are not adequate; the people do not favour me. But Kaou-Yaou has diligently diffused his virtues, which virtues have taken root, and the common people respect him. The Emperor should consider this! My own mind is continually set on him, and trying to think of another I still revert to him, and when his name is mentioned my mind dwells on it. My mind is compelled to rest on him. Let your majesty think on his merits.

The Emperor said: O Kaou-Yaou! I perceive that

these my ministers and people have not offended against my laws, because you have been their judge and intelligent in the use of the Five Punishments, in order to illustrate the Five Precepts and to direct the application of my government. By punishment you aim at establishing cessation of punishments, and the people are brought into accord by moderation. This is meritorious. Be thou assiduous.

Kaou-Yaou said: The Emperor is virtuous and without defect. You condescend with dignity and urge the multitude with considerate indulgence. In punishing you extend to heirs, but in rewarding you reach to successive generations; you pardon errors of ignorance, disregarding their magnitude, and punish wrong-doing without regard to its triviality. In judging, if there be a doubt, you incline to mercy, and in a question of merit you are disposed to be bountiful. Rather than slay an innocent person you prefer to err by irregularity. Life-cherishing, your virtues have penetrated into the people's minds, in consequence of which they do not give offence to the officers of justice.[8]

The Emperor said: Bringing about my wish in regard to government, until every quarter is affected thereby, contributes to your own greatness.

The Emperor said: Come hither, Yu! When the inundation alarmed me, you accomplished your promise and effected that which you undertook to perform, which proved your capacity; you were diligent in the country's affairs, and practised economy in the household, without pride or elation. This proved your ability, yet you did not boast on that account, although, high and low, none could compete with your ability; nor were you thereby puffed up, while under Heaven none could attempt your undertaking. I commend your virtue and esteem your surpassing merits. The highest destiny is vested in your person, and you must hereafter be raised to the highest station.[9]

The common mind is treacherous, while virtuous thought exists but little. Be thou, therefore, very critical and full of rectitude, holding fast to moderation.

Unauthorised words should not be regarded, and ill-advised counsel should not be followed.

Who may be loved if not the prince? Who should be feared if not the people? The nation being without a sovereign prince, whom shall they honour? A prince being without subjects, who shall defend the country? Be respectful, and therefore cautious, you that are in office, and carefully cultivate that which may be desirable. The kingdom being reduced to want and misery, the heavenly revenues come to an end for ever. Thereby from the mouth may proceed goodwill or the taking-up of arms. My words will not be repeated.[10]

Yu said: Repeatedly cast lots among the deserving ministers, and let the successful one be followed.[11]

The Emperor replied: Yu, the controller of divinations first of all fixes his object of thought, and then refers the matter to the Great Tortoise.[12] Now my designs were first of all settled, then after consulting and deliberating, all of one mind were the demons and gods, actually agreeing with the tortoise, and with the reeds harmoniously coinciding. In divining we do not repeat the operation after obtaining a reply.[13]

Yu bowed, bending low and steadfastly declining.

Then the Emperor said: Do not refuse, for you only are suitable.

In the first month and the first day, early in the day, therefore, he received the decree in the temple of his divine ancestor, at the head of the one hundred officers, even as the Emperor himself commenced.[14]

The Emperor said: O Yu; only these Meaovites[15] are not obedient. Do you go and admonish them.

Yu then brought together the host of princes and addressed the army, saying: The consolidated troops will all listen to my commands. Ignorant indeed are these Meaovites, foolish, vain and disrespectful! They are insolent and headstrong, overturning the right way, and destroying virtue; men of merit are driven into the fields, while worthless fellows are put into office, till the people have

repudiated them and refused to sustain them. Heaven itself has smitten them with calamity. Therefore I, with you of many territories, have received orders to punish them for their crimes. You will maintain unity both in thought and action, and we shall be able to ensure a victory.

For three decades[16] the Meaovites resisted the decrees (of the Emperor). Then Yih gave assistance to Yu, and said:

Only virtue can compel Heaven, and there is no distance to which it cannot reach. Fulness is predisposed to reduction, while humility receives increase. This is Heaven's way. The Emperor was formerly at the Leih Mountain[17] and went forth into the field, daily crying and weeping to the pitying heavens because of his father and mother,[18] bearing the fault and taking to himself the blame; while yet respectfully attentive to duties, looking after Kaou-Yaou with intense devotion, veneration and respect, till even Kaou himself was sincerely reformed. And if superlative integrity can move the gods, how much sooner these Meaovites![19]

Yu acknowledged these excellent words, saying: True. He then withdrew his army and quartered his troops. The Emperor thereupon spread abroad his wisdom and virtue, displaying the shields and feathers on both sides of the grand staircase; and in seven decades the Meaovites surrendered.[20]

NOTES ON SECTION III

[1] The Emperor is here Yu-Shun, generally referred to as Shun; and Ta-Yu is the great Yu, who was Superintendent of Works. He submitted all his plans respectfully to the Emperor and was a faithful steward. "Spread abroad to the Four Seas" means throughout the Empire.

[2] Self-government is the best qualification for the government of others. The force of example was thus a

political canon in these most ancient times. Yu governed others through himself, as the head controls the limbs.

[3] The Emperor here referred to is the great and virtuous Yaou, to whose surpassing qualities Shun pays the tribute of respect. There is not here any claim of imperial infallibility, as might be supposed from the text.

[4] Yih and Yu are represented as in free speech in the presence of the Emperor Shun, and it must be considered that Yih is here referring to the respected ancestor of Shun. Otherwise his speech would savour of servile flattery and would be certainly rebuked by the good Shun.

[5] The shadow follows the substance while the echo reverberates from one hollow to another in a ubiquitous manner. The shadow leads one directly to the body which throws it, but the echo cheats and bewilders the sense. The righteous path is called "the shadow," and the unrighteous is here compared to "the echo."

[6] Shun indicates that after man has done his due work, the blessing of Heaven alone will complete it. The soil being tilled and levelled, we must leave the rest to God and nature. "The six provenders" are earth, water, fire, wood, metal and grain. The three civil precepts were to increase commodities, to promote generation, and to maintain union. This appears from the preceding advice of Yu.

[7] Shun ascended the throne in the year B.C. 2255, when he began to reign alone after the death of Yaou. In the year B.C. 2222, therefore, he had reigned for thirty-three years, and he here requests Yu to take a share in the government. Having been born in the year B.C. 2315, Shun was then ninety-three years old. Hence he says: "I am old (*maou*) and decrepit (*ki*)." For when a man was ninety years, the Chinese called him "maou," and when a hundred he was called "ki." The Emperor here says, I am "maou-ki," *i.e.* between ninety and one hundred years of age.

[8] The beneficent government of Shun is here described by Kaou-Yaou. The Emperor is credited with ruling the people in justice, moderation and mercy, so that all are glad and willing to serve him and to avoid offending his

officers; showing that a temperate government and popular loyalty are likely to be found together.

[9] Shun, having taken Yu into regency with him, renders this excellent advice, after commending his past service at the time of the flood and giving him to understand that he must hereafter become Emperor. Yu was chief engineer at the time of the great inundations, and skilfully took the waste of waters under control by deepening the channels and constructing dams and embankments. It is worthy of note that the Chinese deluge took place in the time of Yaou and Shun, B.C 2348, and it was not the great deluge with which Yu was concerned, but some late inundations, due, no doubt, to torrential rains. The curious agreement of both the Chinese and the Hebrew records in assigning the great flood to the year B.C 2348 is strong evidence of something in the nature of a vast, if not, indeed, an universal catastrophe. The Hebrew record taken from Gen. v. and vii. is as follows:—

Age of Adam at birth of Seth,	.	130	years.
„ Seth „ Enos,	.	105	„
„ Enos „ Cainan,	.	90	„
„ Cainan „ Mahalaleel,		70	„
„ Mahalaleel, Jared,	.	65	„
„ Jared „ Enoch,	.	162	„
„ Enoch „ Methuselah,		65	„
„ Methuselah, Lamech,	.	187	„
„ Lamech „ Noah,	.	182	„
„ Noah at the Flood,	.	600	„
Years to the Flood,	.	1656	„
Beginning of record, B.C.	.	4004	„
Date of Flood, B.C.	.	2348	

[10] "My words will not be repeated" means that Shun was convinced of the truth in his own mind, and having communicated it to his Prince Regent Yu, it would not be again necessary to refer to it.

[11] Yu does not despair of finding another to take his place, and suggests that the Emperor should make a divination in order to ascertain the wish of Heaven.

[12] The Great Tortoise was used by the ancients for purposes of divination. The exact mode of using it does not come down to us through the historians, but some reference is made to the markings upon its shell. (See Book VI., Section VI., and Notes thereon.)

[13] Shun here declares that he not only consulted the Tortoise before electing Yu as his successor, but also made divination by means of reeds. This is an extremely ancient custom and is mentioned in the Hebrew chronicles.

[14] Yu is referred to as having accepted the regency with Shun in the same manner as Shun took over the government during the life of Yaou, in the temple of the divine ancestor (*i.e.* Yaou) and in the presence of the mandarins.

[15] The people of Meaou were the original barbaric tribes inhabiting China. In the face of advancing civilisation under Foh-hi, and other ancient rulers of China, they took to the hills, and made frequent incursions upon the peaceable communities of the plains. In the days of Shun they had become intolerable, and constituted the sole disturbing element in the country. The name Meaou comes from the roots Tsau and Teën, and seems to indicate that they were originally a pastoral community.

[16] "Three decades" means one month of thirty days.

[17] The Leih Mountain is the present Ping-Yang in the Shan-se district.

[18] The degeneracy of Shun's father and mother is referred to in Section I. of this book. Shun undertook their reformation, and by his success therein he attracted the attention of Yaou and was raised to the throne, Yaou considering that a young man who could fulfil his filial duties and bear himself reverentially towards purblind and insincere parents in such way as to eventually bring them into accord with him in the path of rectitude was indeed capable of governing others in like manner. His powers were therefore extended.

[19] Yih here advises Yu to try peaceable measures with the Meaovites by withdrawing his troops, establishing the avocations of virtuous life before the eyes of the enemy, and leaving the force of example to operate with the blessing of Heaven.

[20] Yih's method was so far effective, that where the force of arms availed nothing against these barbarians in their mountain strongholds, the semblance of defeat, coupled with the desire to attract the enemy by peaceful exhibitions, succeeded in bringing them to amicable overtures in seventy days. It is not to be supposed that this was a surrender in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather a submission of the mind and a yielding to an inclination for the benefits of civilisation which they saw displayed around them.

SECTION IV

THE DELIBERATIONS OF KAOU-YAOU

Now in review of the ancient Kaou-Yaou (it appears that) he said :

Let one but pursue his virtuous principles, and his counsellors will be luminous and his assistants harmonious.[1]

Yu replied : How is that ?

Kaou-Yaou said : Oh ! a man who is careful of his own conduct, who tries to think of the future, and who is mindful of the nine relationships, such an one all intelligent people are disposed to support.[2] From that which is near, you may infer what is remote in this matter.[3]

Yu acknowledged these excellent words, and said : That is clear.

Kaou-Yaou said : Just so ! In the knowledge of mankind depends the tranquillity of the people.

Yu said : No doubt, but even so, only the Emperor (Yaou) attained it, and that with difficulty. He who knows mankind is intelligent, and he who can govern men and regulate the people is beneficent, so that even barbarous people would acknowledge him.

And if one can be wise and kind, why should he trouble about Hwan-Taou, why banish the Meaovites, why fear false words and hypocritical faces of wicked schemers ?[4]

Kaou-Yaou replied : Just so ! In general practice there are nine virtues, and when in general words it is said that a

man is virtuous, we mean to say, in the execution of all his affairs.

Yu said: How so?

Kaou-Yaou replied: By being liberal, yet austere; complacent, yet firm; particular, yet reverential; indifferent, yet respectful; kind, yet daring; self-respecting, yet meek; unaffected, yet genuine; steadfast, yet sincere; bold, yet just; and showing that he has integrity, how successful he will be!

Daily exemplifying the three virtues, at all times regulating and illuminating his family; always dependable and devotedly respectful of the six virtues, he will advance the glory of his country and continually encourage and spread abroad the nine virtues among all engaged in affairs of state. The superiors of government being installed in office, the one hundred officers would vie with one another, and the one hundred works would be duly carried out in accord with the five terms, all excellence being attained.[5]

In order not to occasion luxuriousness and licence in the management of the country, it is necessary to be very careful and very alert, for in one day, or two, ten thousand sources of action may arise. Therefore do not allow neglect among the numerous officers. It is Heaven that does the work, while men are only its agents.[6] The celestial disposition of affairs is the law by which to regulate our five statutes and to establish the five standards (of relationship).[7] The celestial order of things has its ordinances, which constitute these our five laws by means of which our affairs are established. By continually bearing these in mind, with one accord and with due reverence, the commonwealth is rendered harmonious. Heaven promotes virtuous works, and the five robes distinguish the five standards.[8] Heaven punishes the evil-doer, and the five punishments render their five uses serviceable.

Behold, then, the whole business of government! Let us be up and doing! Heaven's perception and intelligence is itself our people's perception and intelligence; and Heaven's approval and disapproval is itself our people's approval and

disapproval.[9] There is a correspondence between the higher and lower worlds. How careful then should we be in the charge of our possessions![10]

Kaou-Yaou said: My words are true and should be carried out in practice.

Yu said: Very good! Such advice when put into practice will produce good results.

Kaou-Yaou replied: I have no great knowledge of affairs, but I am eager at all times to diligently assist in the perfecting of government.

NOTES ON SECTION IV

[1] Kaou-Yaou was reappointed to the office of Criminal Judge by Shun after the death of Yaou. He advocated a doctrine of simplicity in methods of government which he details to the Emperor in the presence of Yu, the Surveyor-General taking a keen interest in his statements.

[2] Kaou-Yaou here shows that an intelligent and beneficent ruler naturally attracts ministers and officers of similar qualities around him, and when a king is seen to be capable of governing himself, his subjects are quite willing to be governed by him. There is an old saying in the doctrine of the Tao that "the king is the first subject."

[3] "From that which is near you may infer what is remote" in the matter of government, means that if there is disorder, licence and extravagance in the royal household, you may safely predicate anarchy, sedition and profligacy in the remotest parts of the Empire.

[4] But a wise and kind ruler has no need to fear anarchists, outlaws or political schemers. The lawless would be attracted to his service, his subjects would be loyal, and there would be no need of severe punishments.

[5] The use of the expressions "the three virtues" and "the six virtues" in place of the usual "nine virtues," already detailed, indicates that all the virtues are not to be found in any one person. Some may possess three superlative

virtues and others six ordinary virtues. But however that may be, if one regulates his conduct by such virtue as may be in him, he will aid in the government of the country. When every man governs and regulates himself, the matter of governing the country becomes so much simplified as to be almost automatic

The "one hundred works" are the several duties of the one hundred officers of state, and these officials would vie with one another in serving a ruler who was capable of self-control, virtue and kindness, so that all things would be effectively done in due season. "The five terms" refer to the operations of the five planets, and the use of the five commodities during the four seasons. Wood, fire, metal, and water, being allied to the four seasons, the element of earth was successively allied to each of them.

[6] Kaou-Yaou here indicates the necessity of dealing with things in their incipience, and continually watching them, so that the many sources of action, or causes, shall not get beyond control. It is easy to divert a stream at its source, but very difficult to contend with it in volume.

What happens by human agency may be regarded as the work of Heaven, inasmuch as it is due to the operation of natural laws in and through man. In this matter the difference between Heaven's will and Heaven's permission should be continually respected. Divine permission in human affairs acts for the more speedy effecting of the Divine Will, as punishments for the correcting of evil, or war for the establishing of peaceful conditions.

[7] "The five statutes" and "five standards" which are decreed by Heaven and represented in the laws and relationships of men are established by their use in daily life. There is here a reference to celestial types and the obvious order and regularity of celestial laws, as illustrated in the movements of "the five controllers" or planets, which serve for a pattern and standard of conduct for human beings. There is already quite sufficient evidence of the careful study of the heavens among these ancient people to obviate the need in this place of referring to it.

[8] "The five robes" are those used by officials of government from the highest to the ninth degree of rank, the pure yellow without device being reserved for the Emperor. Thus, while Heaven amply rewards virtue, we on our part are able to mark our appreciation of various merits by conferring degrees of rank and robes of office. The five robes, therefore, were used to mark the five standards of merit, *i.e.* the five ranks.

[9] While Heaven punishes all wrong-doing, we on our part are able to punish those who offend against the laws of the country, by various restraints, penalties, and means of correction. This, together with awards of merit, is the business of government. All else may be left to Heaven, which is capable of searching out and of punishing and awarding the undiscovered vices and virtues of men.

The old saying, "The people's heart is Heaven's will," is plainly stated by Kaou-Yaou, who here says that the perceptions and intelligence of Heaven may be inferred from the opinions of the people, and Heaven's pleasure or displeasure from the condition of the people. In effect he is emphasising the previous statement that "that which is far off may be inferred from that which is near."

[10] The reflection is strengthened by reference to the "correspondence between the higher and lower worlds." When Emanuel Swedenborg was impressed to say, "Search for the Lost Word in Tartary or Thibet," he was not far from the truth. This Lost Word (*Puh-kien Tao*) is often referred to by Chinese authors, and Swedenborg says that it embodied "the complete doctrine of spiritual and natural correspondences." In this instance we have a general statement of the law, indicated by the word *ta*, *i.e.* "the way through." It implies an open connection between the noumenal and phenomenal worlds, a channel of information. In effect, then, the government of the people by the people is nothing less than the execution of the will of Heaven; and officers of state exist for the purpose of seeing that "the way through" is not obstructed.

SECTION V

Yih and Tseih[1]

The Emperor said: Come now, Yu! do you also (give us) some advice.

Yu made obeisance and said: Your Majesty is good, but I, what can I say? I try always to be as diligent as possible.

Kaou-Yaou said: Just so, but how do you manage?

Yu (thus encouraged) replied: When the floods were lifted to the heavens, spreading far and wide, surrounding the hills and submerging the mounds, so that the common people were bewildered and dismayed, I availed myself of four vehicles, and going up the hills I felled the trees. Then, aided by Yih, I imported various kinds of animal food.[2]

After that I drained off the nine channels, directing them into the Four Seas; I dug out ditches and canals and brought them into the rivers.[3]

Aided by Tseih I sowed and planted various sorts (of seed), and because of the scarcity of food (I introduced more) animal food.

I encouraged the interchange of goods (of what they had for what they lacked) and the conversion of property, so that all the people had corn, and the country was effectively regulated.

Kaou-Yaou said: Good! It is well to follow your excellent advice![4]

Yu replied: Just so, but your Majesty (should observe) how careful one must be when in authority.

The Emperor said: Very true!

Yu continued: Rest where you stop![5] Be scrutinising and tranquil. Let your agents be upright, for only then will all activities be adequately performed by those who wait upon your intentions, whereby you may show that you have received (your decree) from the Supreme Ruler; and Heaven in confirming its decree will make use of great blessings.

The Emperor replied: Truly spoken! Ministers and attendants, attendants and ministers![6]

Yu replied: Exactly so.

The Emperor continued: You ministers are my legs, arms, ears and eyes. I desire to help forward the affairs of the people, and you must assist me. I wish to extend my dominion in every direction, and you must act for me. I desire to observe the figures represented by the ancients, the sun, moon and stars, the hill, the dragon, the flower and the insect, as they were painted; the monkey, the lotus, the fire, the white rice, the axe, the hooks, embroidered in five colours and variously disposed on the five silks, forming the court dresses; and you will illustrate them. I desire to hear the six notes, the five tones, the eight musical instruments, to learn whether they be right or wrong, the odes and ballads in the five modes of expression; and you will listen for me.[7]

Should I err, do you assist me (to correct myself); but you should not openly comply and then retire to indulge in slanderous language. Be careful! you four attendants.[8] All stubborn, seditious and self-assertive persons must be targeted in order to discern them, and (if necessary) scourged in order to remind them, the book being used for recording it.[9]

But we desire at the same time to preserve them. Therefore the chief musician should make a ballad of instruction to fan their ears withal, so that if they reform they may be recommended to employment, but if not then let them be subdued (by punishment).[10]

Yu said: Is that right? Your Majesty's glory is universal, even to the ends of the earth, numerous states of well-disposed people all being your Majesty's ministers. Let your Majesty gradually elevate them, receiving their reports and taking their suggestions, distinguishing all according to their merits by chariots and robes in order to confirm them in well-doing. Who then would dare to fail in respectful loyalty? Should your Majesty fail thus to act, all will be alike, and each day (will bring in) reports of failing merit.[11]

Be not like Tan-Chu, the disrespectful, who only in leisurely dalliance took delight, in offence and oppression, busying himself both day and night in thus continuing; regardless of (the scarcity of) water plying his boat, and by evil companionship defaming all at home, in consequence of which he was cut off from succession.[12]

I, having regard to this, being wedded at the Tuh Mountain, tarried there but four days, and when Ki sobbed continuously and cried out, I did not fondle him, but only considered the important business of surveying the land.[13] I assisted in perfecting the five laws of tenure,[14] over five thousand miles. In each district I appointed twelve officers, and beyond these (districts), as far as the Four Seas, in all parts I established the five elders, each of whom had attained to some merit. Only the Meaovites were stubborn and would not go to work. Your Majesty should consider this.[15]

The Emperor replied: The realisation of my principles (of government) is due to your faculty in disposing affairs. Kaou-Yaou not only concurs with your arrangements, but has added (to them) the forms of punishment in which he is intelligent.

Kwei said: When tapping and striking the warbling-stone, striking and sweeping the harp and lyre in accord with the chant, the ancestors and progenitors came down to visit us, the guest of Yu (Shun) occupying the throne, and the host of princes virtuously yielding (place to one another).[16]

Below were the pipes and tambours sounding in unison or checked by the drum and stopper, the organ and the

bell according with the intervals, the birds and animals being stirred to action; and when they played the nine airs the male and female phœnix came forth to disport themselves.[17]

Kwei continued: When I was beating the stone and tapping the stone,[18] all the beasts were disposed to playfulness and all the officers were sincerely in accord.[19]

The Emperor invented and composed an ode, in which it was said that men should be careful of Heaven's decree, that they should be timely and attentive to detail. Then he sang and said: When the arms and legs are ready to serve, the head can think of action, and the one hundred rulers will prosper!

Kaou-Yaou put his hands together and bowed his head, in acclamation saying: Give heed to this! The Head should take the lead in beginning affairs, and thereafter be careful in his regulations; respectfully careful and continually mindful of results; cautious indeed! He then joined on and completed the ode, saying:

The Head being intelligent, the legs and arms will be subservient and all affairs will prosper!

And again he recited, saying: When the head is too punctilious, the arms and legs will prove defective and the multitude of affairs will be abandoned![20]

The Emperor bowed and said: Very true! Conform to it and be careful!

NOTES ON SECTION V

[1] This section is joined on to the preceding one, and the subject matter is continuous of it, and so appears in the modern text. But in the ancient text it is separate. The idea of a connection is suggested by the word *yay*, "also," in the sentence: "Do you *also* give us some advice?" Previously Kaou-Yaou has engaged the attention of the Emperor, and now the latter turns to Yu, requesting his views.

The section is called "Yih and Tseih" on account of Yu making special mention of their great services. A separate section detailing the works of Ta-Yu will be found in the next Book.

[2] Yu refers to his exploits at the time of the extensive floods. These floods appear to have been occasioned by the breaking down of the channels in the reign of Yaou (B.C. 2348). The "four vehicles" mentioned in this place were four means of locomotion—namely, boats, carriages, sledges, and spiked boots, used respectively for water, dry land, mud, and steep hill-climbing.

[3] The "nine channels" were the canals which were brought into the rivers of the nine territories. Some think them to be the rivers themselves, but fail to locate them in the nine territories. The word here used is *chuen*, in distinction from *shwuy* and *ho*. In the next Book it will appear conspicuously that Yu formed both canals and reservoirs artificially. It is of interest to note that hydraulic engineering and irrigation were efficiently studied at this early date.

[4] These references to Yih, the Minister of Commerce, and Tseih, the Minister of Agriculture, confer the title of this section.

[5] "Rest where you stop" implies holding fast to the ground to which reason has led one. Tsae-Chin says: "When man's mind is affected by right principles, all affairs will arrive at the point of utmost perfection." It is at this point that Yu desires the Emperor to stop, *i.e.* not short of perfection.

[6] The repetition of the phrase "ministers and attendants" indicates that the Emperor was duly impressed by Yu's statement, and desired to specify and accentuate its point by repetition. The word *chin* (minister) indicates one who goes forth in an official capacity, while the word *lin* (attendant) denotes the same man in his intimate relations as a neighbour, shield-bearer, food-bearer, etc. The integrity and stability of the Empire depends upon a right selection of upright ministers and attendants, since these are capable

of immediately affecting the king's mind, and so disposing to wise or unwise decrees.

[7] The Emperor here appeals to his ministers to support him in the maintenance of all those ancient customs which were approved and followed by his predecessors in regard to Court ceremonies and to uphold the Imperial standards throughout the country. He compares his ministers to the members of a corporeal system of which he is the Head.

[8] The expression, "you should not openly comply and then retire to indulge in slanderous language," constitutes an appeal to the sincerity of his attendants. For Shun would not have them flatter him as if he were immaculate nor slander him by accusations of wilful wrong-doing. He therefore admits his vulnerability and liability to err, and confidently commands the counsel and support of his ministers and attendants, admonishing them to concern themselves with the great responsibilities of office.

[9] "To be targeted" refers to the ancient Chinese practice of testing irregular people by means of archery. The argument for this practice was that the mind was reflected in all the members of the body, and governed their motions, so that a person of perverted mind lacked co-ordination of design and action, and in aiming at a target would but seldom hit the bull's-eye. This may have been a good test at a period when every man was accustomed to the use of the crossbow; but under modern conditions of life it would be an exceedingly faulty test of rectitude and integrity.

A more lucid suggestion is that the various degrees of rank being indicated by the shield they carried, the offence should be judged according to the shields or targets they used, so that equity might prevail; for what is an offence in one of high station and enlightenment may be but a venial fault in one of lesser degree.

When convicted of an offence, punishment was administered with a view to correction, and the names of offenders were inscribed in a chronicle kept for that purpose.

[10] Shun perceived that merely primitive measures were not likely to prove finally effective. The end in view being

the making of good citizens, it was thought more likely to result from an educative system. To this end the Emperor directed that healthful precepts should be communicated to the people in the form of ballads. Such as were amenable to correction were to be recommended to employment on their release, and only the incorrigibles were to be reduced by repeated punishments. This shows both the wisdom and charity of Shun.

The difference between an ode and a ballad is this. The poetical effusions which proceed from a superior to an inferior are called "odes"; while those which proceed from an inferior to be heard of a superior are called "ballads."

[11] Yu advised the Emperor not to rely upon the effects of punitive measures, but rather to distinguish merit among his officers of state by suitable awards, because the reward of merit was as much a part of good government as the punishment of crime, and at all times more agreeable.

[12] Tan-Chu was so named because he, Chu, was given the government of Tan-Yuen, but because of his delinquency Yaou gave the Empire to Shun, the son of Ku-Tao, instead of allowing his son Chu to succeed.

[13] Yu, considering this, did not allow even so important an event as his marriage to interfere with the discharge of his duties of state; nor at a later date did the infantile discomforts of his firstborn son Ki affect his righteous sense of duty. Indeed, Meng-Tze (Mencius) records the fact that Yu was away eight years on public business after his marriage, and although he passed his own door on three occasions during that period, he did not enter. Such patriotism was the mainspring and source of all Yu's great distinction.

[14] The "five laws of tenure" are the laws relating to the five tenures, details of which will be found at the end of next Section (*The Tribute of Yu*). These tenures were called: Tien, Hao, Suy, Yaou and Hwang.

Regulating the borders of a district is only the work of a prince, and a minister can only assist and advise in the matter. Hence Yu says he "assisted" to determine the

laws of tenure. The expression "over five thousand" (*chi ko wuh tsien*) is to be followed by a standard of measure, namely, *li*, the Chinese "mile." The extent of each tenure was 500 *li* in breadth, so that from north to south was altogether 5000 *li* and from east to west 5000 *li*.

[15] The "Five Elders" are at this day represented in the Hindu villages. In ancient China they were the patriarchs who constituted the tribunal of a district. They were specially chosen for their mature virtue, and in their jurisdictions they seldom erred, as they had the advantage of knowing intimately the characters of the younger generations over whom they sat in judgment. They had no power to inflict punishment, but only to arbitrate, judge and report upon cases submitted to them.

[16] The "Warbling-stone" was a stone which, upon being struck, gave out the note of a bird. "The descent of the ancestors" is a direct reference to one of the leading tenets of the Shinto faith (see Conclusion to the *Tao-teh-King* by the present writer). Shintoism, or Ancestor-worship, was undoubtedly the primitive religion of China, and in some respect was akin to the Spiritualism of modern times. The Chinese held their ancestors in highest esteem and veneration, and sincerely believed that the manes of departed ancestors were present on all occasions of worship, and they purposely evoked the spirits of the deceased on such occasions as were set apart for the worship of the ancestors in the ancestral temples, while the spirits of the predecessors were invoked on the occasion of an emperor's accession. In the Shravanam festival of the Hindus, *pitri puja*, or ancestor-worship, is a prominent feature, and it is a serious question whether the circumstances of death alienates the soul from interest in mundane family affairs. The "ancestor" is the grandfather and his progenitors, while the "progenitor" is the direct father. Shun's "guest" in the present instance of *mantric* invocation, as recited by Kwei, was Tan-Chu, the son of Yaou. After the death of Yaou he was entertained by Shun and took the seat of honour to assist in the evocation of his august progenitor's spirit.

[17] Commentators differ greatly as to the interpretation to be put upon this passage. Some say the various instruments were shaped in the form of birds and animals, and that their "disporting themselves" refers to the concerted music produced from them. Others say that the influence of music upon the passions of animals and the emotions of human beings is alone referred to. The poetic genius of more recent times has referred to the power of music over the soul of man. Tsae-Chin reports that when Paou-Pa played his harp the fishes gathered in the streams about him, and that when Pih-Yay struck his lyre six horses looked up from their pasture and listened. To this he adds that with Shun's virtue above, and Kwei's music below, it was no wonder that even birds and beasts were reflective of the universal concord.

[18] "Beating the stone" and "tapping the stone" implies the use of two different instruments, otherwise the repetition of the noun cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

[19] The influence of the music upon the officers of state, together with the reported presence of the ancestors, was such as to dispose them to immediate agreement and concord, while animals were by the same influence rendered harmless and docile.

[20] Kaou-Yaou first shows the accord which results from a wise administration, and afterwards indicates the disastrous effects which follow upon a meddling and officious rulership. For if the king merely issues his decrees and leaves them to the intelligence and loyalty of his ministers to effect, they will be executed without demur if the ministers have been rightly chosen by the standards of virtue; but if the ruler be meddling and officious, they will disclaim all responsibility and will be affected with indifference.

BOOK II

THE BOOK OF HÎA

SECTION I

THE TRIBUTE OF YU

Yu partitioned the land, and, following the mountains, he felled the timber, and fixed the borders by the high hills and great rivers.[1]

In regard to the Ki Province: Having begun the work at Hu-kow, he directed his attention to Liang and Keh. He then set in order the Tae-yuen as far as the Yo mountain southward. At Tan-hwai he worked effectively even to the river Hung-chang. The soil (of the Ki Province) was of white clay, the produce was of the first-rate superior class,[2] sometimes uncertain, and the fields were of the second-rate middle class. The Hang and Wei (rivers) having been directed in their channels, the great plain was rendered workable.[3] The island foreigners submitted furs as tribute, and turning westward at Kayi-shi, entered into the Ho.[4]

The Tse and Yellow River contained the Yen Province: The Nine Rivers[5] having been directed in their courses, and the Luy-hia district having been inundated, the Yung and Tseu[6] were united. The mulberry-ground having been stocked with silkworms,[7] the people came down the slopes and dwelt on the land.[8] The soil of the province was a dark loam, the herbage luxuriant and the timber tall. The

fields were of the third-rate medium class, the produce commensurate, and being worked for thirteen years it was rendered uniform.[9] Its tribute consisted of dyes and silks, and the tribute-vessel (contained) fabrics of various colours. They were floated to the Tse and Teh rivers, and so were brought to the Ho.

The sea and the Tae mountains comprised the Tsing-chow Province. The district of Yue having been mapped out, the Wei and Tsei rivers (found) their proper courses.[10] The soil was white loam, the seaboard desolate and briny. The fields were of the third-rate superior class, while the produce was of the first-rate medium kind. The tribute consisted of salt, matting, and marine produce of various kinds.[11] The Tae valley produced silk, hemp, lead, pine-apples and choice stones. The Lae (mountain) foreigners worked the fields, and their tribute-vessels were stored with mulberry and silks.[12]

The sea and the Tae mountains, together with the Hwae river, comprehended the Tsiu Province. The Hwae and E waters being properly regulated, the Mung and Yu hills were then properly cultivated. The great plain was made into a lake. The eastern plain was low and flat.[13] The soil was red clay, and fertile, the herbage and trees being wildly luxuriant. The fields were first-rate of the medium class, the produce being of the second-rate medium order. The tribute was earth of five colours, coloured feathers of the Yu wild-fowl, wood of the Yih mountain Dryandra, musical floating-stones from the Sze river, oyster pearls from the Hwae foreigners, together with fish.[14] The tribute-vessels (contained) dark silks and sarcenet checks.[15] They floated them down the Hwae and Sze rivers and directed them to the Ho.

The Hwae river and the sea (embraced) the Yang-chow Province.[16] The Pang-li having been conserved, the southern birds had places for settling. The three rivers having entered the sea and the perturbed swamp being rendered quiescent, the canes and bamboos were multiplied, the grass became lengthy, the trees became tall, whilst the

soil was yet oozy. The fields were third-rate of the inferior kind, the produce being first-rate of the inferior sort, with superior admixtures.[17] The tribute consisted of three kinds of metal, precious stones, canes and bamboos, ivory, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The island foreigners (contributed) matting, and their tribute-vessels contained weaving cotton and the bundles of small and large oranges which they were allowed to bring for tribute.[18] They navigated down the Yang-tze-kiang to the sea, and came up the Hwae and Sze rivers.

The King mountain with the south Hung mountains comprised the King-chow Province. The Yung-tze-keang and Han rivers paid homage to the sea.[19] The Nine Rivers being rightly disposed, the Toh and Tsien waters having been led away, the Yung and Mung lands were rendered cultivable, though the soil was still muddy. The fields were of the third-rate medium class, the produce being first-rate of the inferior sort. The tribute was of feathers, hair, ivory, hides, with metal of three kinds, Chun-tree wood for bows, cedar and cypress, grinding-stones, whet-stones, stone arrowheads, and cinnabar, together with the Kwan-lo bamboo, and the Hu-wood.[20] The three regions rendered tribute of the most famous kind; their bundles and baskets of Pandan,[21] and their tribute-vessels of dark and red silks, pearl-shell and embroidery, while from the Nine Rivers they brought the offering of the Great Tortoise.[22] They floated these down the Kiang, the Toh, Tsin, and Han rivers, then crossed over to the Loh, and proceeded as far as the south of the Ho river.

The King mountains and the Ho were (the boundaries of) the Yu Province. The E and Lo rivers, the Tien and Kien having been led into the Ho, the Yung and Po rivers having been conserved, the Ho morass was drained off into the Mung reservoir.[23] The soil of the province was clay, the lowlands being a loose loam. Its fields were of the first-rate medium kind, its produce uncertain, and of the second-rate superior class. The tribute was paint, hemp, fine and coarse matting, and the tribute-vessels were filled with

coloured raw silks, and silk-cotton; and they were permitted to contribute the shaping-files for musical stones.[24] They floated these down the Lo river and came to the Ho.

The Hwa-yang mountain and the Black Water formed the boundary of the Liang Province.[25] The Min and Pwan hills having been cultivated, the Toh and Tsin rivers having been directed, the Tsae and Mung hills were then rendered equable. At Ho and E he sustained his meritorious work. The soil was bluish-black, the fields were of the first-grade inferior sort, and the produce was of the second-grade inferior kind, of a threefold admixture.[26] Its tribute was made of musical gems, iron, silver, steel, stone-arrowheads, musical stones, bear-skins, fox-skins, and dressed leather.[27] From the Sze-king hill they followed the Hwan river, and turning, floated down the Tsin, crossed to the Mien river, and entering into the Wei, made across to the Ho.

The Black Water and the Western Ho were (the boundaries of) the Yung-chow Province.[28] The Yo waters having been (directed to) the West, the King river joined to the Wei and Juy rivers; the Tseih and Tsiu rivers having been properly directed, the Fung waters were united with them.[29] The King and Ki hills having been cultivated, the Chung-nan and Shun-wuh hills also, as far as the Neaou-shu hills, in the plains and marshes he performed his good works, even to the Chu desert. The three Wei having been rendered habitable, the three tribes of Meaovites achieved great merit.[30] The soil (of the Province) was yellow clay. The fields were of the first-rate superior quality and the produce of the third-rate medium sort. The tribute consisted of Ku-lin gems and Lankan pearls. They floated these from the Tseih-shih hill as far as Lung-mun,[31] on the west of the Ho, to the confluence of the Wei and Juy rivers, with hair-cloth and furs from Kwan-lun, Seih-chi and Kiu-sow. And so among the western barbarians he established merit.[32]

Yu then surveyed the hills from the Kien hill to the Ki hill as far as the King mountain, then crossed the Ho at Hu-kow, followed the Luy-sho hills as far as the Tae-yo mountains, and the Teh-chu and Seih-ching as far as

Wang-wuh, the Tae-hing mountains as far as Kieh-shih, where it entered into the sea. He surveyed the Sze-king, the Chu-yu and the Neaou-shu hills as far as the Tai-hwa mountain; the Heung-ur, Wae-fang and Tung-pih hills up to Pei-wei. He then surveyed the Po-chung hill as far as the King-shan (hill) and the Nuy-fang as far as the Ta-pei.[33]

He also surveyed from the Min hill southward to the Hung-shan mountain, and across the Nine Rivers as far as the Fuh-tsien-yuen hill.[34]

He conducted the Yo-shwuy (Weak Waters) as far as Ho-li, the residue of the stream entering into the Liu-sha. He directed the Hih-shwuy (Black Waters) as far as the San Wei hill[35] until it entered into the southern sea. He directed the Ho from Tseih-shih as far as the Lung-mun (Dragon's Gate) southward, leading it as far as Hwa-yin, then eastward up to Ti-chu and further eastward to Mung-Tsin, whence, eastward bound, it crossed by the Lo headland. Arriving at Ta-pei going northward, it passed the Kiang close to Ta-luh, further north spreading into the Nine Channels which united and flowed backward on entering into the sea.[36]

From Po-chuy he conducted the Yang river eastward to the Han, yet further eastward to the Tsung-lung water, passing the San-she, up to Ta-pei, whence it turned southward and entered into the Kiang further east, turning into the marshes and forming the Pang-li lake,[37] still further eastward forming the north Kiang, and entering into the sea.[38]

From the Min hill he conducted the Kiang eastward to where it was cut off to form the To, then further east as far as the Li; passing through the Nine Streams it extended to Tung-ling, then eastward it flowed and was joined on the north to the Whirling Waters, and further east, finding the Chung-Kiang, it entered into the sea.[39]

He directed the Yuen water flowing eastward to form the Tse, which entered into the Ho and overflowed to form the Yung. Eastward it extended to Taou-kiu on the north side; further east it went as far as Ho, and then eastward

and northward it joined itself to the Wun, and yet further to the north-east it entered into the sea.[40]

He directed the Hwae river from Tung-pih eastward to its union with the Tse and E rivers, which flowed eastward and entered into the sea.[41]

He conducted the Wei river from Neaou-shu hill at the tor of Tung-heuy eastward till it joined the Fang, then further east till it joined the King, still further east to its union with the Tseih and Tseu, and until it entered the Ho.[42]

He directed the Lo river from Heung-ur eastward and northward to unite with the Kien and Tien, and further eastward to join the E, and yet further east and north till it joined the Ho.

The Nine Provinces having been united, the Four Bays having been rendered habitable, the Nine Hills cleared and cultivated, the Nine Rivers deepened and conserved, the Nine Marshes embanked, (everything within) the Four Seas was compactly united.[43]

The six stores being duly arranged and the soils exchanged and tilled, he carefully adjusted the produce and revenues, all being classified by the three grades of soil, and completed the revenues of the Central Territory.[44]

He conferred lands and surnames.[45] Respectfully submit these my merits to the people (said Yu), and they will not depart from my methods.[46]

Five hundred li was the region of the Tribute holding. For one hundred li the revenue consisted of the entire grain-bearing plant. The second hundred li brought in grain with half the straw. The third hundred li contributed grain in the ear. The revenue of the fourth hundred li was grain in the husk, and the fifth hundred li grain already threshed and winnowed.[47]

For five hundred li (further on) was the domain of the Nobles. The first one hundred li was for the high officials, the second hundred li for the Barons' territory, the third hundred li for the Princes' territory.[48]

For five hundred li (further) stretched the Peaceful

tenures. Three hundred li were allotted to the use of literary workers, and two hundred li for the extension of military defence.[49]

For five hundred li (further away) lay the Prohibited territories, three hundred li being for foreigners and two hundred li for transported convicts.[50]

For five hundred li (still further) lay the Unrestrained territories, three hundred li being for barbarians and three hundred li for banished felons.[51]

Eastward they extended to the sea, westward to the shifting sands, northward and southward, equally with the fame of Yu, they spread to the Four Seas.[52]

Yu then presented his dark-coloured sceptre and proclaimed the completion of his work.[53]

NOTES ON SECTION I

The Book of Hia is concerned with some chief incidents in the history of this dynasty (B.C. 2203–B.C. 1766).

The Tribute of Yu concerns the work of the Great Yu in combating the devastations of the floods which occurred in the days of Yaou, and which had not been attended to since. Yu undertook the work at the command of Shun when he was joint ruler with the aged Emperor Yaou. The Regent (Shun) eulogised Yu for the excellence of this work, as appears in Book I., Section III. The great work is referred to by Yu himself, in connection with the ministrations of Yih and Tseih (Section V.), when in conclave with the Emperor Shun, Kaou-Yaou and others. The present section gives a detailed historical account of the great survey and rehabilitation undertaken by Yu, who founded in his own person the Hia dynasty.

[1] Yu first divided the country into nine provinces, using the natural features of the country wherever possible, fixing the borders by means of the mountain ranges and great rivers. Liang and Keh formed the Shan-se district or Imperial Province. Hu-kow is the name of a hill. Yu

very properly began his work in the immediate vicinity of the great Yellow River which bordered the Imperial domain on the west and south. The centre of government was at Pih-king (Peking), "the northern capital." Tae-Yuen was a great plain in Shen-se. The Yo mountain was the Ta-Yo in lat. 36° 30′ N. The district of Tanhwae was very level and heavily inundated, therefore difficult to deal with.

[2] The ancient Chinese classified their soils and produce under nine heads. Indeed, this number is essentially of Mongolian sanctity, for they had nine heavens or spheres, nine provinces, nine rivers, nine mountains, etc. The highest grade of soil and produce was called *Shan*, "high"; the second grade is called *chung*, "middle"; and the third grade is called *hia* or *ya*, "low." Each grade was of three degrees—the first, second and third rates, making nine in all. They are here translated first-rate, second-rate and third-rate in the superior, medium and inferior grades.

[3] The flooded rivers were constrained to their proper channels and the plain drained off and rendered cultivable.

[4] The Ho is here the Hwang-ho or Yellow River. The word Ho refers to any river or volume of waters, but in this text refers only to the Yellow River. Kayi-shi is in lat. 36°. It is believed, on the authority of ancient records, that the Ho formerly discharged itself into the sea in lat. 39° N., near the Gulf of Pechili. It is evident, therefore, that the river has since changed its course. The islanders from the north came southward and turned into the river at Kayi-shi, which is east of Peking, and went westward up the river.

[5] Since the third century B.C. the exact locality of the Nine Rivers has been lost to record. Wang-hwang, the historian, says that "formerly the heavens rained down incessantly, the wind blowing from the north-east, and the ocean, overflowing the land, submerged the country, and obliterated the course of the Nine Rivers"; and in this he has the support of Li-taou-yuen. Tsae-chin, the commentator of the *Shu King*, who wrote in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D., gives the names of the

eight streams which, together with the main stream of the Hwang-Ho, formed the "Nine Rivers," or Kiu-ho, of Yu's time. They were: the Tu-hae, Ta-she, Ma-kayi, Fuh-foo, Hu-su, Kien-kayi, Kiu-poang and Ki-tsin. They are all to be found between lat. 37° and 39° north, to the east of Peking, and appear to have formed a confluent with the Ho not far from the coast.

[6] The word "Yung" refers to any stream which flows out of the Hwang-ho, and the name of "Tsiu" is given to streams issuing from the Tse, so that it appears these streams at the time of the inundation went to form the Luy-hia marsh, which overflowed upon the country. Luy-hia, or the "thunder-head," is so called from the popular belief that the marsh was infested by a demon with a dragon's body and human head who produced thunder.

[7] The silkworm is adverse to damp soil, and the draining of the land had to be effected before the silk industry could be revived.

[8] When the floods prevailed, the people engaged in the mulberry-growing and silk-farming went to live in the hills and settled there. Yu thus opened up the old industry by draining the low-lying districts.

[9] By being "rendered uniform" is meant that after the newly-drained soils had been tilled for thirteen years they were capable of putting out their full produce uniformly with other districts.

[10] The "proper courses" of the rivers were those they held before the floods. The Wei rises in the Wei mountain, in the Kiu-chow district, lat. 36° north, and flows northward. The Tsei rises in the Yuen mountain in lat. 37° N. and long. 1° 40′ E. of Pekin, flowing eastward to join the Tse.

[11] The Tsing-chow Province lying upon the sea coast, it was natural for its produce to be of a marine nature. The salt mentioned was obtained by evaporation of sea-water.

[12] The mountain mulberries of Tsin-chow were capable of producing silk of great strength, fit for use in stringing musical instruments, such as the harp and lute.

[13] The eastern plain of Yun-chow is called Tung-ping, *i.e.* the Eastern Flats. Its mention here seems to indicate its special liability to inundation, and it was therefore drained into a reservoir.

[14] The Tsiu Province was mainly of red soil, but occasionally could produce five kinds of coloured clays, which were used for building temples. It is related by Tsae-chin that there was a great temple set up in the time of the Chow dynasty, the wall of which on the east was of blue earth, on the south of red earth, on the west of white earth, and on the north of black earth, the centre being plaistered with yellow earth. This is in exact agreement with the four quarters of the heavens defined in Book I., Sect. I., in the Canon of Yaou, under the names of the Azure Dragon, the Red Bird, the White Tiger, and the Black Warrior. The five colours were yellow, blue, white, red and black.

[15] The mention of chequered silks in this place shows that more than four thousand years ago the Chinese were weavers as well as dyers of silk. The sarcenets mentioned were woven in black and white check, which was used in the same manner as now in Europe—for half-mourning after the period of deep mourning was over.

[16] Yang-chow Province was bounded on the north by the Hwae river and south-eastward by the sea. It forms the southern part of Kiang-nan and the northern part of Kiang-se.

[17] Yang-chow had the lowest class of soil, but it was well worked, and produced crops the best of the inferior kind, with occasional crops of the medium grade, which is what is meant by a "superior admixture." The "matting" here referred to was of an extremely fine texture, and was used for clothing.

[18] The cotton was obtained from the cotton tree; the weaving-cotton was of finer sort, and this was put into the tribute-vessels or baskets. The expression "permitted to bring" signifies that the article referred to—viz., oranges—formed no part of the regular tribute, but was brought

whenever needed at the capital. The "three kinds of metal" were gold, silver and copper.

[19] The Kiang and Han rivers paid homage to the sea. This expression means that they hastened to become tributaries of the ocean, flowing to it in a swift direct course.

[20] The Hu wood was much in demand for making shafts of spears and arrows.

[21] The Pandan reed was a triangular rush with thorns projecting from the three ribs. The pith was fibrous and weblike, and the rush was therefore used for straining wine to be used for high occasions, sacrifices, etc.

[22] The Ta-kwei, or Great Tortoise, was to be occasionally found in the Tung-ting lake, into which the nine rivers fall. It was regarded as the sacred guardian of the Empire, and was used by the Emperor for divinatory purposes. (See Book VI., Section VI.)

[23] The E river rises in the hill called the Bear's Ear (Hiung-urh), lat. 36° N. and long. 5° W. of Peking, and runs into the Lo. The Lo rises in lat. 34° N. and long. 7° W. of Peking, and flows through the Kung district into the Hwang-Ho.

[24] The frequent mention made of musical stones as tribute seems to indicate that they were at this period in common use. These stones are said to have been made of green jade, and suspended in frames according to their tones, so that being struck they emitted musical sounds—a primitive sort of dulcima. The implements for shaping these stones, many of which were fashioned in the forms of birds and beasts (see Book I., Section V.), were also articles of tribute from the Yu Province.

[25] Liang Province comprised Sze-chuen and part of Shense. It was bordered on the east by the Hwa-shan, or "Flowery Hill," and on the west by the Hi-shwuy, or "Black Water."

[26] By "a threefold admixture" is meant a blend of this second grade of produce with the first and third grades. The crops were therefore somewhat superior in some respects

and inferior in others, and were therefore classed as of the second grade of their inferior kind.

[27] Iron ranks before silver in the category of useful things. The Liang Province teemed with wild animals, the skins and furs and hair of which were part of the general tribute of this province, together with the dressed hide of the rhinoceros, which was used for armour and defensive equipment.

[28] The Yung-chow Province was bordered on the west by the Hih-shwuy or Black Water, and on the east by the western bend of the Yellow River, which runs north and south about 6° W. of Peking, called Hia-ho.

[29] The Yo-shwuy or "Weak-waters," were apparently in the San-tan district, near the hills of the Blue Lake, in lat. 37° N. and long. 17° W. of Peking. Whether they were unusually sluggish or of peculiar nature is not known, but they were said to be incapable of supporting even a straw.

[30] The three Wei or *San-wei* have previously been mentioned (see Canon of Shun) as the territory to which the Emperor banished the marauding tribes of the Meaovites. It is not known exactly where it is located, but, from the regulations of Yu in regard to the various holdings or tenures, it was certainly a great distance from the capital of Peking. There was a state called Meaou in Kiang-nan, and the inhabitants are recorded to have depended upon their hill skirmishing and predatory warfare. But as the name signifies, they were aboriginees of China and literally field-cultivators. They were banished before the great survey of Yu was begun, and now achieved merit by assisting in their ancient work of cultivation.

[31] The Lung-mun, or Dragon's Gate, was a mountain-pass overlooking the Hia-ho, or western branch of the Yellow River, lat. 35° N. long. 6° W.

[32] This passage completes the record of the survey of the provinces, the fixing of their boundaries by the hills and rivers, the channelling and draining of the land, and the record of the provincial tributes. The last of this part of Yu's work was completed in the far west of the

great central territory of the Empire, and it is amongst the western barbarians that he is said to have established merit. Kwan-lun is the hill from which the Hwang-ho flows. Seih-che is modern Thibet. Kiu-sow is to the west of Kan-suh.

[33] This paragraph records Yu's survey of the hills and mountains, from the Hang hill in lat. 39° N. long. 2° W., to the Hang mountain in lat. 27° N. long. 4° W., over twelve degrees of latitude; and from the Min Hill in long. 12° 32′ W. of Pekin to the Hang Hill first mentioned, being over ten degrees of longitude. This was surely a great and memorable task for any man to achieve, and it immortalised the name of Yu, "the Great Yu," among all the chiefest benefactors of the people.

[34] The position of the Fuh-tsien-yuen hill is not known, but is supposed that it was either a small hill in Tih-Gnan or that the name of a more important site has since been changed.

[35] The Liu-sha, or "shifting sands," were in lat. 40° 15′ long. 11° 30′ W. of Pekin. It was a waste of loose drift sand which moved with the wind, and into this loose bed the "Weak Waters" were drawn off. The San-Wei hill may be that which gave its name to the territory to which the Meaovites were banished by Shun (see Note 30).

[36] The flowing back of the Ho after entering the sea in its confluence with the eight other rivers is believed to be due to tidal influence. The Yellow River formerly went further north and east than at present, and no doubt formed a delta of estuaries, and the force of the current being thus divided, it would be liable to a heavy back-wash from the flow of the tide. The Kiu-ho, or nine rivers, formerly flowed over the site of the present Gulf of Pichili. There has evidently been a great incursion of the Pacific on the coast of China since the days of Yu.

[37] The Kiang here mentioned is not the Yang-tze-kiang, but a river in the Shin-tuh district, lat. 39° N. long. 1° W. of Peking. It flows northwards towards the Pichili Gulf. The Pang-li lake is the modern Po-yang.

[38] "The north Kiang" is intended to mean the northern

part of the Yang-tze-kiang, which enters the sea in the Thung province, lat. 32° N. long. 4° E.

[39] The Chung-Kiang, or middle Kiang, appears to indicate the main stream of the Yang-tze, which flows through the district of Thung. The several parts of this great river are referred to as the Sung-kiang, Liu-kiang, and Tung-kiang. It is customary to refer to the northern part of the Yang-tze-kiang as Kiang-pih, the southern part as the Kiang-nan, and the western part as the Kiang-se. The Kiang formed the principal feature of the Yâng-chow Province, and hence the name Yang-tze-kiang. The Sung, Leu and Tung are "the three rivers" referred to in the survey of the Yâng-chow Province.

[40] The "Yuen" and "Tse" are the same river, and at various parts of its course it is called the Yuen, Tse-yuen, and Tse.

[41] The Hwae rises in Nan-Yâng, the south Yang district, in lat. 33° N. long. 4° W., but Yu only directed it from Tung-pih, some distance to the south-east of its source, which no doubt was all that was considered by him to be necessary.

[42] The Wei river flows from the Neaou-Shu hill in Nan-shu through the Shen-se district till it reaches the Fang, after which it flows to the King and then to the Hwang-ho.

[43] "The Four Seas were compactly united" means that everything within the Empire was brought into constitutional order on an economic basis.

[44] The "Six Stores" were gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, and grain, *i.e.* the five metals and the cereals (rice, corn, etc.). Some consider them to be the five elemental products, namely, iron, copper, lead, tin, and mercury, and wood for the sixth; but it is more reasonable to suppose that the stores would include gold and silver, even though they were not standards of value at that remote period. As to wood, it was everywhere abundant, and, indeed, part of Yu's work consisted in clearing the hills, which was done by firing the timber in several parts and felling it in others.

[45] Ta-Yu conferred surnames on the families for the better classification of the existing populace, and also for

purposes of succession. Having conferred lands to various holders in the process of survey, such lands being in many instances reclaimed from the floods of the past century, he determined by surnames the rights of succession, and so established order. This was in B.C. 2276.

[46] This passage follows naturally on the completion of Yu's work; and having set the Empire in efficient working order, he is reported to have said: "Respectfully represent my virtuous works to the people and they will not fail to imitate them"; for in those early days and among simple folk it was only necessary to set a good example to ensure its being followed.

[47] The Imperial domain extended for 500 li around the city of Yang or Ping-Yang, in Shan-se, or the Ki Province. Here the Emperor Yaou reigned and died, and was succeeded by Shun and Yu. The tribute of grain was variously ordered according to the distance from the city, respect being had to the cost and difficulty of carriage from the more distant parts.

The Chinese li was 360 double paces of 50 inches each. Ten grains of millet made one inch (Chinese), 10 inches one covid or foot, ten feet made one staff, and ten staves made one chain. These were the regulations of Shun, which were used by Yu in his great survey.

It has been determined by Gaubil that 250 li were equal to 1 degree of latitude. Consequently, the whole Shensi or Chinese dominion extended over only about twelve degrees of longitude and about the same of latitude.

[48] Outside of the Imperial domain for 500 li the Nobles held the land. The officers were nearest to the Imperial City, next the Barons, and then the Princes. The proximity of the great officers to the Court was thus secured, while on the other hand they were continually under the control and supervision of those most interested in the safeguarding of the Empire from foreign incursions.

[49] The literati, artists, musicians, and all who followed the liberal professions were under the immediate patronage of the princes of the Empire on the one hand and the pro-

tection of the militia on the other, and being distant from the traffic and stir of the Imperial domain, they were thus able to pursue their avocations in peaceful retirement. Hence their territory was called the "peaceful tenure."

By "military extension" we may understand a system of external defence by military encampments surrounding at a distance of 1250 li the Imperial City, and all around it who were engaged in the industrial arts, affairs of state, civil government, agriculture, the liberal professions, etc., and outside of this constitution, compacted by military defence, were the foreigners and outcasts.

[50] The foreigners, whose laws and civilisation were not under the control of the Emperor, were outside the line of military defence. Beyond these immigrants were the transported convicts or felons. It was necessary to bridle and restrain them, and hence these districts were called the "restrained" or "prohibited tenures."

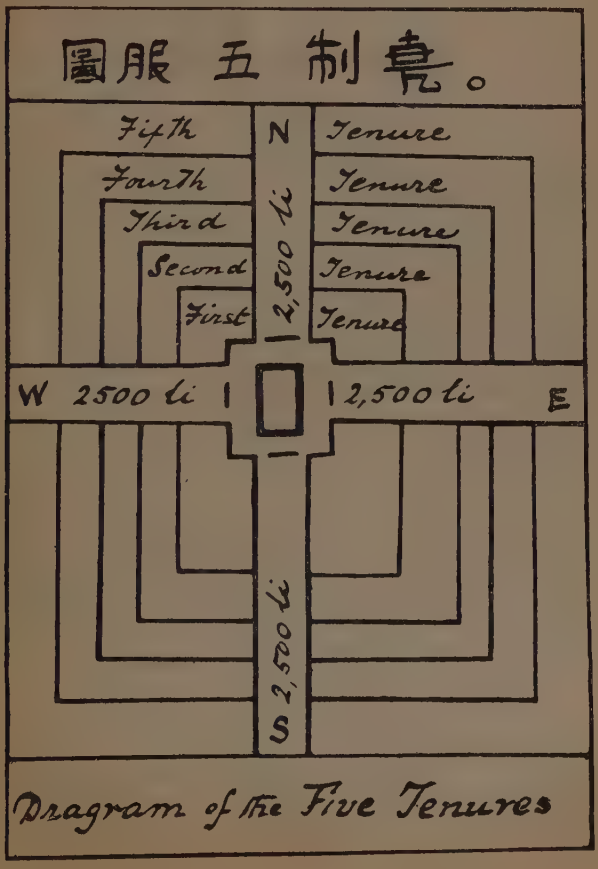
[51] The "unrestrained territory" was so called, not only on account of the nature of the ungoverned and ungovernable peoples—such as the barbarians and outlaws, who inhabited those parts—but also because of the uncultivated, wild state of the country itself.

In their description of the Chinese territories one does not recognise the borders of modern China. Parts that are now the most fertile and productive are here referred to as belonging to the wilderness and desert lands of the "prohibited" and "unrestrained" territories. Similarly, modern desert land is referred to as fertile and of good revenue, adapted to peaceable habitation. The survey of a large and populous country at any one period is necessarily of small use to succeeding generations, but these ancient records are of immense antiquarian and literary interest.

[52] The "shifting sands" mean the deserts towards Gobi in the extreme west of China, about long. 100°–115°. Northwards the Empire extended to beyond Peking, southwards to the Nan-ling mountains, and eastward to the sea. So far did the fame of Yu's great and patriotic labours extend.

[53] The dark-coloured sceptre which Yu presented at

Court on the completion of the Emperor's decrees was the symbol of authority which he carried through the country. It was probably a dark jade sceptre of the colour of deep water, appropriate to the office of First Minister. It was customary to present the badge of office after completion of a set work, as now it is for a Minister of State to hand in his portfolio, or of an officer to present his sword.



SECTION II

THE KAN OATH

A GREAT war (took place) in Kan when (the Emperor) summoned the six generals.[1]

The King said: O you six commanders of the troops, I will prescribe an oath to you.

The Yiu-hu people have contemned and wasted the five useful things[2] and wrongfully disregarded the three regulations.[3] Heaven (therefore) has employed me to root out and destroy their institutions. Hence do I now reverently express the reproach of Heaven.[4]

If you on the left fail to fulfil the duties of the left, you do not respect the commands. If you on the right do not fulfil the duties of the right, you (also) do not respect the commands. If you, the charioteer, do not direct your horse correctly, then you do not respect the commands. If you accord with the decree, I will acknowledge you in the temple of my predecessors;[5] but if you do not obey the decree you will be slain at the altar of the gods,[6] and I will moreover slay your wives and children.[7]

NOTES ON SECTION II

[1] Kan is the territory of people of Yiu-hu, lat. 34° N. long. 8° W. of Peking. The Emperor referred to is K, who was the son of Yu, and succeeded to the throne in the

year B.C. 2195. The rebellion took place in B.C. 2193, in the third year of Ki's reign. He was elected to the throne by consent of the princes of the Empire. Yu had married Kiaou, daughter of the chief of the Tu-Shan, who bore him a son named Ki at the time when he was engaged in the great survey (see Book I., Section V.). Both Yaou and Shun had elected their successors by merit alone, and had not allowed their unworthy progeny to succeed them. Thus Shun succeeded Yaou, instead of his dissolute son Tan-chu, and Yu was raised to the throne by Shun in place of his son. The people of the Empire supported Yu, who established himself at Yâng. When, therefore, Ki in turn succeeded Yu in the government, there was cause for dissent, Ki not having been selected for his merit but merely because he was the son of Yu. The people of Yiu-hu were dissatisfied and would not submit to the government of Ki. They were a powerful and numerous people, and declared war against the Emperor.

[2] The Emperor swore-in the troops and their commanders, affirming that the Yiu-hu people had departed from the institutions and precepts of his great ancestors. The "Wuh-hing," or five useful things, were metals, water, fire, wood and earth.

[3] The three regulations had regard to the beginning of the year, the length of the year, and the periods of work determined by the seasons, as instituted by Yaou in accord with nature. The people of Hu disregarded these regulations, and thus not only were in rebellion against the Emperor, but also at variance with the nation. This was contrary to the divine decrees.

[4] Ki, as Emperor, speaks of himself as the minister of Heaven's decree, and signifies that he was elected to administer the reproach of Heaven to this rebellious people. It is historically recorded that upon the first assault he was unsuccessful, and, recognising that his failure was due to want of virtue in himself, and consequently in his officers, he withdrew to the capital and ordained a month of rigid and selfless devotion to duty throughout the kingdom. At

the end of that period the people of Yiu-hu submitted to his government.

[5] He recognised the difficulty of his task from the beginning, and for this purpose admonished the commanders of the right and left columns, and the commander of the horse also, saying that success depended on concerted action and individual attention to duty. He further swore to award merit and to punish neglect of duty.

[6] The altar of the gods, land and grain, was, together with the tablet from the Ancestral Temple, always carried by the Emperor at inspections and reviews to indicate his impartial authority to award merit and to punish wrong-doing.

[7] The serious nature of warfare demanded exceptional degrees of award and punishment, and the Emperor therefore stimulated his troops by strong words of promise and of threat.

SECTION III

THE SONG OF THE FIVE CHILDREN

Tai-kung was a corpse in office. By addiction to pleasures he destroyed his virtue. The black-haired people were disposed to revolt, but he gave himself up to indulgences without measure, and went hunting to the River Lo and beyond it for one hundred days without cessation.[1]

Then E, prince of Yiu-kiung, seeing that the people would not endure it, drove him to the Ho.[2] His five younger brethren attended their mother while she followed him, and waited at the junction of the Lo.

The five children all complained, repeating the great Yu's admonition in order to form a song. The first of them said: Our great ancestor declared in his teachings that the people should be cherished and should not be debased. For the people are the country's foundation, and when the foundation is firm set the country is peacefully disposed.[3] I consider well that among great and little, every foolish clown and simple dame, each one can surpass me—a single individual frequently in error; then why wait for general complaint?[4] Is it not wise to anticipate secret discontent? I, coming before a million of people, am as anxious as one with rotten reins who drives six horses.[5] And as to the people's ruler, how can he neglect proper caution?

The second of them said: The teachings say, When at home one indulges in dissipation, and when abroad follows the

delights of sport, with a fondness for wine and a passion for music, lofty capitols and ornamental walls; let us say (he has) but one of these (follies), there will be no means of avoiding ruin.[6]

The third of them said: 'There was Tâng, the chief of Taou, who had this Ki dominion,[7] but now (its ruler) has lost his way, has confused the precepts and laws, and hence has effected his disaster and ruin.[8]

The fourth of them said: Very luminous was our ancestor, the director of ten thousand states! He had laws and regulations to communicate to posterity; he brought into accord the hundred-weights and regulated the quarters, and at the royal palace a standard kept. (But now) unheeded and neglected are the keys of office, disordered is the temple, and cut off are the oblations![9]

The fifth of them said: Alas, where shall I hide myself while I think upon my misery? Ten thousand people are opposed to me. I know not where to rest! O how perturbed is my soul! I blush and am covered with shame by this disregard of virtue, and although he repent, how shall it avail him?[10]

NOTES ON SECTION III

This section is only contained in the ancient text.

[1] Tai-kung was the eldest son and successor of the Emperor Ki. His brethren, the "Five Children," had cause to lament his self-indulgence and neglect of duty. The historian compares the King to a corpse, because he sat on the throne without governing either himself or the people. In this he was like the image or mummy of the dead. He holds the place of honour, but does not officiate. The virtue of a king is to rule; but this Tai-kung lost, and also his crown, by addiction to selfish pleasures.

[2] E is the name of a famous archer who opposed the Emperor Tai-kung at the Yellow River. He was the Prince of Yiu-kiung, and took over the government of the country

till the death of Tai-kung ten years later. The deposition of the Emperor took place B.C. 2186. The five younger brothers of the Emperor accompanied their mother to the confluence of the Lo and Hwang-Ho, where they awaited the Emperor's arrival.

[3] Reference is here made to the teachings of the divine Yaou.

[4] Chung-Kung, who was eventually raised to the throne by the Prince of Yiu-kiung, laments his own failings, and advocates self-government and discipline in anticipation of more extensive evils, which must inevitably disturb the people if their ruler be incapable of self-control. He generously but wisely refers his brother's follies to himself, and laments them.

[5] The horse symbolises the passions of the soul of man, which require to be curbed and restrained. The reins denote reason, by which the passions are controlled and guided. If the reason be "not-strong" (*i.e.*, weak and defective), as was the case with Tai-kung, then one horse would be difficult and six impossible to manage.

[6] Self-indulgence to the neglect of duty, whatever may be the form of that indulgence, will bring disaster in its train, whether by wreck of health, fortune, honour, or morale. This in a ruler is a thing of magnitude to the country.

[7] The Emperor Yaou, who reigned at Ki, was called Taou-Tâng. At thirteen years of age he was appointed to govern Taou, and at fifteen he was advanced to the government of Tâng, hence he was called Taou-Tâng.

[8] The ruin of Tai-kung is here directly referred to his neglect of ancestral precepts and laws, by which the country had been hitherto governed in peace.

[9] This eulogy refers to Yu, or Ta-Yu (the Great Yu), who succeeded Shun, and worked as the Chief Surveyor and Engineer of China to reclaim the land from the floods. The *Shi*, or stone (translated "hundred-weight"), was a measure of 120 lbs. avoirdupois. The *kin* ("quarter") was 30 lbs. These were the chief weights in use for tribute, and

standards of these and other measures were kept at the Imperial Palace. These regulations and other affairs of state were wholly neglected by Tai-kung, equally with all religious observances.

[10] Even the youngest brother of the dissolute Emperor cannot refrain from taking the reproach and shame of the matter upon himself. He sees the hopelessness of the case and longs for obliteration. The use of the word *wân*, "ten thousand," connotes a multitude, everybody. Similarly the first brother speaks of himself as "thrice wrong," meaning, frequently in error.

SECTION IV

THE YIN CHASTISEMENT

When Chung-kung was elevated to the throne of the Four Seas the Earl of Yin was directed to take command of the army.[1]

Hî and Ho had neglected their appointed work and given themselves over to wine-bibbing in the towns, and the Earl of Yin received the imperial decree and went to chastise them.[2]

He made a proclamation to the assembled host, saying: Oh! all ye my warrior hosts! The sage has given counsel and instruction of luminous verity, well adapted to the protection (of the people). Former kings were very observant of celestial portents, and their ministers and the people were capable of paying continual regard to the regulations, and the different officers (also) contributed their aid. Then the princes attained to clear illumination.[3]

Every year at the commencement of spring an instructor of the people with a wooden gong went through and around the public ways, calling on the public teachers to counsel one another, and on the workmen occupied in handicrafts to correct themselves, and if any of them were not mindful (of the order) the country had a sure punishment (awaiting them).[4]

At that time Hî and Ho corrupted their principles and

abandoned themselves to wine; they neglected their offices, forsook their posts, began to confuse the celestial laws, and ignored their faculty.

Consequently, when in the third month of autumn, on the first day of the month, there was a partial eclipse of the sun in Fang,[5] the blind musicians beat the drums, the lower officials went off on horseback, and the chiefs of the people ran afoot (in general consternation).[6]

Hî and Ho were dead to (the duties of) their office, not having heard or known of it, and were stupidly perplexed as to the celestial signs, so that they committed a crime which former rulers prescribed against.

The regulations in regard to eclipses say: Being before the time, (the astronomers) are to be killed without respite; and being behind the time, they are to be slain without reprieve.

Therefore I, with all you host (of warriors), am commanded to carry out the celestial decree.[7] Therefore you numerous warriors, combining your strength for the imperial throne, should unite in aiding me to respectfully obey the Son of Heaven's dread decree. When fire blazes on the heights of Kwan, gems and common stones are alike destroyed. A celestial agent exceeding his duty is fiercer than a raging fire. The chief offenders shall be slain; their associates and followers I shall not meddle with; and those addicted to corrupt habits must all be reformed.[8] Yes, indeed! when discipline exceeds leniency, then success is assured; but when leniency exceeds discipline, there is certainly no meritorious result. You hosts of warriors, exert yourselves and beware![9]

NOTES ON SECTION IV

[1] Yin was the name of an earldom. The Earl of Yin was given command of the Imperial Army by Chung-kung on his accession after the death of his dissolute brother Tai-kung. Chung-kung began to reign B.C. 2157.

[2] Hî and Ho were the names of the two astronomers appointed by the Emperor Yaou to keep the celestial records and to make observations.

The men here mentioned are by some thought to be the direct descendants of Yaou's astronomers, the offices being hereditary. But others affirm that the names are only significant of the respective functions of those who bore them, Hî being the recorder and calculator who made the calendar and kept the records of phenomena, such as eclipses, comets, occultations, planetary conjunctions, etc., of which there are many instances in Chinese history; while Ho was the one who made the observations and kept the instruments in order. Together they represent the theory and practice of astronomy. The practice of naming men after their official predecessors is still commonly observed.

[3] The Earl of Yin proclaims the virtue of ancient rulers in observing celestial portents, and it is evident that they regulated their affairs by astrological precepts.

They recognised the scientific importance of eclipses, and made extensive observations of the effects which followed them and which they were held to portend, *e.g.*, insurrections, earthquakes, droughts, floods, destruction of crops, political changes, etc. They argued from physical effects to moral causes, or from physical causes to moral effects, and held a rational astrology as an essential part of their system of government. The Princes made particular study of celestial laws, and attained to "clear illumination."

[4] It was enjoined upon all people once a year to make an examination of themselves and their superiors, with a view to general correction and reform. Reproof of a superior at such times was a mark of esteem and respect, and they who failed in this duty to their superiors were liable to a penalty. For 360 days in the year the ruler governed, reproved, and chastised the people, cherishing them continually. But for five days the people's duty was to voice their complaints, make deputations to their rulers and to the

court, and, when necessary, to remonstrate with and reprove them.

[5] Mention is here made of a partial eclipse of the sun in the constellation Fang, which was visible in China, but which, owing to the defections of Hî and Ho, was wholly unexpected. Hî should have given warning in the calendar, and Ho should have observed that such a conjunction would inevitably take place; but both were "like corpses" in office, and were wholly ignorant of any such phenomenon.

Consequently everything was suddenly in a state of utter confusion, everyone hastening to observe the ceremonies proper to the occasion at a moment's notice. This sort of thing occurring in the capital, and indeed all over the country, justly incurred the displeasure of the Emperor.

Considerable dispute ranges round this ancient eclipse. Many have guessed at it, but no one seems to have calculated it.

The constellation Fang is in the head of Scorpio, and at the period of Chung-kung, B.C. 2157–2144, was about 56° east of the autumnal equinox; in A.D. 500 it was about 36° east, according to the observation of the Indian astronomer Varaha-Mihira; and it is now about 17° east of the equinox, corresponding with the sun's longitude on the 11th October. Now the autumnal equinox in Chung-kung's time fell about the 9th October (O.S.), consequently there must have been a new moon, close to the Node, some time in October. The Chinese history confirms the month, saying that the eclipse occurred on the first day of the ninth month in the autumn, which, counted from February, shows October as the month of eclipse.

According to Tang in the *Kang-Muh*, an eclipse occurred in the fifth year of Chung-kung, which, if the first year be taken as 2157 B.C. (astronomical) or 2158 B.C. (secular), would fall in B.C. 2154 or 2153.

The following calculation shows the veritable eclipse and the time of its occurrence.

NEW MOONS IN MARCH (O.S.).

Year.		Sun Anom.	Moon Anom.	Sun-Node.
	D. H. M.	S ° ′	S ° ′	S ° ′
A.D. 1746, . .	10 13 56	8 20 56	11 12 16	0 6 3
+11., . . .	29 12 44	0 29 6	0 25 49	1 0 40
	40 2 40	9 20 2	0 8 5	1 6 43
−3900 y., .	21 15 24	11 15 12	3 20 12	8 5 23
B.C. 2154, . . .	18 11 16	10 4 50	8 17 53	5 1 20
71., . . .	206 17 8	6 23 44	6 0 43	7 4 42
	225 4 24	4 28 34	2 18 36	0 6 2
=11th Oct.	$4^h\ 24^m$	2 17 46	SA − 50	
			2 17 46 = MA′	
SA −	2 13	2 10 48 = (SA − MA)		
	2 11			
MA′ +	9 42			
	11 53			
SA−MA′	− 5			
G.M.T.	11 48 P.M. = Pekin, 12th Oct. B.C. 2154 at $7^h\ 34^m$ A.M.			

Rather more than two-thirds of the sun's disc eclipsed.

[6] "The blind musicians beat the drums." It was the custom to beat drums and to clash cymbals with a view to distract the people and overcome the lethargy of spirit which a sudden darkening of the land might induce in the fearful mind, or "to scare away evil spirits," which perhaps amounts to the same thing. It is worth notice that the word *shin*, used to indicate the ecliptic conjunction, also signifies a spirit, a trembling dread; and this may refer to the agitation of the mind produced by an eclipse, or to the trembling of the earth which frequently accompanies or immediately follows an eclipse. The Hindus have the word *jin*, which refers to a spirit of the air, and it is

popularly believed that the *jins* are maliciously active during the time of an eclipse, to counteract which they, the people, immerse themselves in rivers and tanks, or preferably in the sea.

[7] The penalty of death was inflicted upon all who, being responsible, should confuse the calendar, wrongly indicate the time of an eclipse, or fail to give warning thereof. This being an ancient decree, it had all the respect of a divine injunction, so that the Earl of Yin, having authority of the Emperor to punish the astronomers, could only do so by inflicting death. To carry out this punishment it was necessary to employ the imperial troops, for both Hî and Ho were powerful men and had a considerable following.

[8] It was, however, rather for the purpose of inflicting an exemplary punishment that the troops were assembled. The Lord of Yin takes the opportunity of addressing the troops on the necessity for regulation of duties, on the necessity for zeal in the service of the country, and for discretion in meting out punishment.

[9] Lord Yin further proclaims the kind of discipline, for lack of which the imperial astronomers had incurred the penalty of death. He therefore urges the troops to be zealous, but discreet. The offence of Hî and Ho was not one of ignorance, but culpable neglect of duty brought about by intoxication.

BOOK III

THE BOOK OF SHANG

SECTION I

THE OATH OF TANG

The King said: Come, all you hosts of people, take heed and hearken to my words. It is not that unworthy I would willingly bring about this irregular proceeding, but the ruler of Hia is continually transgressing, and therefore Heaven has decreed his extermination.[1]

Now all you people assembled together will say: Our chief has no pity on us. He sacrifices our agricultural interests and has decided to cut off and correct Hia.[2]

I have been hearing all your words (of complaint), but the house of Hia has transgressed, and I fear the Supreme Ruler, and I dare not refrain from correcting it. Now some of you are saying, What are Hia's offences to us?[3]

But Hia's ruler has altogether depleted the people's strength, and has fiercely inflicted punishments on the inhabitants of Hia, so that the populace is altogether careless and fractious, saying: "Thou Sun! when wilt thou expire? For we would perish together with thee!"

Hia's course being such, I feel compelled to resist him.[4]

If you consent to aid me, a solitary man, in effecting Heaven's infliction (upon Hia), I shall highly reward you. Of that you all need have no doubt, and I shall not eat my words. But if you do not comply with the words of my

oath, I shall put you and your children to death, having no mercy upon you.[5]

NOTES ON SECTION I

The Book of Shâng is concerned with the records of the Shâng dynasty, extending from B.C. 1794 to B.C. 1120.

This Book contains seventeen sections in the ancient text.

[1] Kieh, the last of the Hia dynasty, had long been indifferent to the welfare of his people and very severe in his treatment of them, chastising and killing on the slightest pretext. T'ang, whose own name was Li-tze, undertook to correct him, and introduced various religious teachers and philosophers to him. These respected men urged the Emperor to revert to the virtuous government of Yaou and Shun: but in vain. T'ang therefore constituted himself the agent of Heaven, mustered the troops, and put them under oath of fidelity to assist him in suppressing Kieh.

[2] T'ang here quotes what he has heard said in regard to himself and his proposed action against Hia. We learn, incidentally, that the abdication was forced on Kieh about the time of the preparation for the spring harvest, when most of the irregular troops would be engaged in agricultural work. This they were reluctant to sacrifice for the better government of the State.

[3] But T'ang appealed to them in the name of Heaven, and was determined to correct Kieh, in spite of the popular indifference of those under his own rule to the tyrannies of Hia.

[4] He levels an indictment against the Emperor, and refers to his habitual saying: "I hold the Empire as securely as the sun holds the sky, and when the sun expires, then only may I be destroyed!" a saying which had become the note of a popular dissatisfaction.

[5] In administering the oath to the troops, T'ang offered the usual awards of fidelity, and threatens the usual penalties of rebellion.

SECTION II

THE DECLARATION OF CHUNG-HWUY

THE accomplished T'ang banished Kieh to southern Tsau, but having the virtue of modesty he said: I am troubled lest future generations should consider me to be a subject for general controversy.[1]

Chung-hwuy then made a declaration, saying: Unfortunately, since Heaven has produced mankind with various inclinations, if there be none to govern them, they fall into confusion. But Heaven has also produced the intelligent and well-disposed to regulate them.

The ruler of Hia confounded virtue, and the people were afflicted with misery and wretchedness. Heaven therefore conferred on our King the courage and wisdom (necessary) to establish a correct standard for the numerous States, and to continue Yu's anciently-practised regulations, and that because he has followed out the old-established laws and reverently obeyed Heaven's decree.[2]

The King of Hia has offended by falsely representing Supreme Heaven in order to recommend his commands to the populace. This was a very improper action on the part of an Emperor, and Shang was therefore directed to receive the decree and use it for the advancement of his followers.[3]

Hia was indifferent to the wise, and allied himself to the powerful in order to increase his following. At first our State, under the ruler of Hia, was like rank herbs among

corn, or as chaff among grain, so that both small and great were perturbed, and without exception in dread of wrongful accusation; so how much more our lord's virtuous counsel would be the subject of criticism![4]

Let the King be not too familiar with music and women, nor store up wealth and taxes. Virtue being abundant, let there be abundant offices; and merit being plentiful, let there be plentiful rewards. Let him but deal with the people as with himself, and in correcting wrongs let him not be sparing. If he can be liberal while just, he will receive the confidence of the multitudes of people.[5] When the Ruler of Ko ill-used those who made offerings, T'ang forthwith took the regulation of Ko upon himself.[6] When in the east he rectified matters, the western foreigners were dissatisfied; and when in the south he arrested disorder, the northern tribes were discontented, saying: "Why does he neglect us alone?" Wherever he went, families rejoiced together, saying: "We await our Prince; and when the Prince comes he will restore (all things)." For the people's regard for Shang had existed a long time.[7] By assisting the talented and encouraging the virtuous, by promoting confidence and increasing obedience, by uniting the weak and suppressing the headstrong, by reducing the lawless and punishing the vagrant, by pursuing the vagabond and establishing the faithful, the country will be enriched.

Virtue being daily renewed, the numerous States will be complacent; but if the intent be self-satisfaction, the nine relationships will fail.[8]

If the sovereign exerts himself to illustrate the highest virtue, and to institute moderation among the people by controlling and ordering his affairs and by duly restraining his thoughts, he will bequeath great wealth to succeeding generations.

I have heard it said: "He who can find for himself an instructor will prevail, but he who imagines others not to be his equals will be obliterated. A good borrower will have much wealth, but the self-user will be reduced."[9]

But truly, to be careful of results one must begin early.[10]

By advancing those who are law-abiding, and by overthrowing the proud and tyrannous, dutifully exalting the Celestial Way, the decree of Heaven will be perpetually upheld.[11]

NOTES ON SECTION II

Between Chung-kung, B.C. 2157, and Kieh, whose reign terminated in April B.C. 1764, there were twelve Emperors, namely: Siang, Shaou-kung, Chu, Hwae, Mung, Sî, Puh-kiang, Kiung, Kin, Kung-kia, Kao, and Fa. These do not enter into the records of the *Shu king*.

[1] T'ang having pursued Kieh as far as southern Tsau, caused him to remain there under a decree of banishment. While inwardly assured of the righteousness of his action, T'ang was anxious lest it should become a precedent for unscrupulous and ambitious rebels. Therefore the Chief Minister, Chung-hwuy, made this declaration.

[2] The word "Heaven" here indicates the visible heavens or celestial bodies as the natural agents in the production of terrestrial effects, in distinction from the deity who is referred to as Shang-ti (the Supreme Ruler). Without this distinction one is apt to lose sight of the prevalent belief of the agency of the celestial bodies, frequently indicated in the text as "Heaven's decree" or "the celestial utterance." The "numerous states" referred to (lit. ten thousand) means the many fiefs into which the country was divided.

[3] Kieh not only indulged himself and his courtiers in every excess and profligacy, but also made use of the name of Shang-ti (deity) to enforce his pernicious laws and imposts on the populace.

[4] Owing to the corrupt state of the Court during the reign of Kieh, the people were in constant dread of false accusations; and even high officials were not exempt from this fear. How much more in danger then was a virtuous councillor like T'ang, the Prince of Shang. He was, in fact, imprisoned in the Tower of Hia B.C. 1775, but was afterwards released. This was due to T'ang having sent

messengers from Shang to remonstrate with the Emperor. It is said that Kieh was a man of immense physical strength, so that he could twist iron into ropes and straighten hooks with his fingers. He relied on this strength to the neglect of virtue, and entirely subverted the ancient code of government. He was a great debauchee, and on being rebuked by Kwan-lung-pang, instantly put him to death.

[5] These are the ancient principles of government instituted by Yaou and Shun.

[6] The Ruler of Ko refused to sacrifice, making excuse of the poverty of his people. T'ang therefore ordered the people of his own city of Po to plough for the people of Ko and to take them contributions. The Ruler of Ko returned evil for good by killing the young people who brought presents. Thereupon T'ang sent his troops to punish him, and afterwards took the government of the district into his own hands, B.C. 1781.

[7] Not only were the people of Po so contented with the government of T'ang as to be averse to making war with the Emperor Kieh (see Section I.), but other States vied with one another in the endeavour to secure his rule. Shang was the name of the province of which Po was the capital. Prince T'ang took the name for his dynastic title on becoming Emperor.

[8] The "nine relationships" are cited in "Yu's counsels." They are more particularly referred to in "The Great Plan" (Book IV., Section VI.), and comprise the Eightfold Path in relation to the princely perfection of the self. As elsewhere remarked, the number nine is the characteristic number of the Mongolian race.

[9] Chung-hwuy quotes an ancient saying to the effect that none, not even an emperor, can afford to ignore good counsel. During the latter years of the Hia dynasty these precepts were lost sight of, and wise counsellors like E-yin of Yiu-sin and Kwan-lung-pang were either scorned or shamefully ill-treated.

[10] One may easily stay a torrent at its source where it is but a little spring, and to be sure of preventing great evils

one must be careful in the beginning. Causes, like the Deity, are frequently inscrutable, but ever of more importance than the multitude of their effects.

[11] The way of Heaven (*Tien-tao*) is the supreme pattern of government, and should be duly honoured and held up as an example to men.

SECTION III

THE PROCLAMATION OF T'ANG

THE King having returned from the conquest of Hia, (came) as far as Po, (and there made) a general proclamation to the numerous States. The King said: O ye people of the numerous States, collectively and intelligently hearken to me, the solitary man. I proclaim that the Imperial Supreme Ruler has conferred the middle path upon these lower people, so that they have preserved the invariable dictates of nature, but to enable them to peacefully continue in the right way rulers are necessary.[1]

The Ruler of Hia has obscured (the path of) virtue, and has done wickedly in order to exert oppression upon you, the worthy progeny of the numerous provinces; while you, worthy generations of the numerous provinces, undergoing his cruel sentences, being unable to bear their bitterness and poison, have risen up and proclaimed your innocence to the superior and inferior spirits and demons.[2]

The way of Heaven, which blesses the good and punishes the wicked, has brought down calamities on Hia in order to illustrate his wickedness.[3]

Therefore have I, the insignificant one, received Heaven's decree to display the power of authority, without presuming to relent.[4] I have ventured also to make use of a dark-coloured victim, and have made an invocation to Supreme Heaven and to the Prince of Spirits setting forth the iniquities of Hia.[5]

I then requested the Chief Sage to assist me with his abilities, in order that, with the aid of all you family men, we may ask for a confirmation of the celestial decree (to ourselves).

Supreme Heaven has conspicuously assisted the lower people, and their offenders have retreated ignominiously. Heaven's decree is not in vain! vivaciously, like plants and trees, the myriads of people have sprung forth abundantly.[6]

Appointed am I, a solitary man, to set in order and improve all you States and families. Now I do not know that I have not offended against the superior and inferior (powers). I am in great doubt, and sorely concerned lest (I am) in danger of falling into a deep abyss.[7]

When I proclaim the Empire I shall not follow improper methods nor countenance sedition or rebellion. Do you (also) uphold all your established laws, so that you may receive Heaven's excellent (blessings). Do you all be righteous and I shall not dare to disclaim you; and should error rest on my own person, I shall not presume to exonerate myself, but will submit to the judgment of the Supreme Mind. If any of your numerous States have transgressed, let it rest on me, the solitary man; but should I, a single individual, have offended, it shall not reflect upon all you numerous States.[8]

So then (if you can rightly accept this), and accord it due respect, we shall then both have a satisfactory conclusion.

NOTES ON SECTION III

[1] T'ang banished Hia's Ruler (Kieh-kwei) to Nan-tsau, the modern Ngan-hwi on the Yang-tse-kiang. He then assembled the rulers of the various States and the heads of the chief families at Po, his own city, which he made the centre of government in founding the Shang dynasty. The path of rectitude having been consistently followed by the people, being possessed of the virtue of simplicity, or "the heart-born benevolence" such as the ancients were

careful to preserve, they only need a just ruler to keep them in that condition. To possess the five virtues of parental love, filial regard, brotherly friendship, marital integrity, and respect for superiors was called the due medium or the middle path (*chung*). To be guided by them was to have the virtuous nature (*teh-sing*). To carry them out in daily life was to be in the right way, the path of rectitude (*ching-tao*).

[2] The rule of Kieh-kwei is compared to gall for its bitterness and to a serpent for its poison. The common people, unable to bear the tyranny of their ruler, represented their innocence to Heaven in the hope of deliverance.

[3] The way of Heaven (*Tien-tao*) is variously translated the First Cause, Supreme Reason, Celestial Law, and Stellar Motion, according to the context. The word Tao, compounded of the 162nd and 185th Radicals (*cho*, motion, and *show*, chief, first, head), seems to embody the idea of the *primum mobile* or Supreme Cause; whence we may derive natural law in both the noumenal and phenomenal worlds. Lao-tze in the "Tao-teh-king" appears to give it the meaning of universal law, as in the passage: "That which was before gods and men I call Tao." But the opening phrase of the same work seems to convey the idea of a doctrine or spiritual *logos*: "The Tao which is the subject of discussion is not the true Tao." The word can generally be translated by "Way," and, indeed, the word is frequently used to indicate a road or pathway.

[4] T'ang felt to have the authority of Heaven (as expressed in the voice of the people) to exterminate Kieh, and he could not refrain from doing so without offending his conscience.

[5] A dark-coloured victim (a black bullock or goat) was made use of by T'ang on this occasion, out of respect for Yu and other previous rulers of Hia, that being the colour favoured by the dynasty. He was performing the obsequies of the house of Hia, and could but observe their own customs. When Shang became the ruling dynasty the colour was changed to white. The Prince of Spirits here

mentioned is the Spirit of the Earth in distinction from the Supreme Ruler (*Shang-ti*). The Chief Sage was E-yun, who had on five separate occasions been deputed by T'ang to remonstrate with Kieh.

[6] Released from the tyranny of Hia's rule, the people made a joyful response to the new order of things under T'ang. This is what is meant by "springing forth vivaciously like plants and trees."

[7] Ching-T'ang was "sorely concerned" because he was a good man, and rightly felt the grave responsibility of undertaking the government of the people.

[8] In a spirit of highest magnanimity, T'ang accepts the full penalties of rulership. "I am the head and you people are the body of the State," he appears to say; "if you go wrong, it is my fault alone; but if I offend, it is solely due to my own mistakes." In reverting to the (*Sing-li*) Nature-Reason of the ancients, T'ang submits himself to the direction of the Supreme Mind, and relies upon the people to follow the precepts of their ancestors.

SECTION IV

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF E[1]

In the first year of the reign,[2] in the twelfth month, on the second day of the month, E-yun sacrificed to the former King[3] presenting (at the same time) the succeeding monarch, who dutifully waited upon his ancestor. The princes of the adjacent tenures were all present, and the various officers gave account of their affairs and waited to learn the instructions of the Prime Minister.[4]

E-yun then luminously dilated upon the worthy ancestors' perfected virtues for the instruction of the King,[5] saying: Yes, indeed! in ancient times the early rulers of the Hia dynasty were greatly endowed with virtue, and (in those days) there were no celestial catastrophes: the hills and rivers with their demons and gods were all invariably tranquil, as were also the birds and beasts, the fishes and reptiles; all being in accord.[6]

Upon their successors, who did not follow out their example, Imperial Heaven sent down calamities; engaging (for that purpose) the hand of our Prince and investing him with the decree. Kieh set causes in operation which attended him at Ming-Tiao, while my (Prince's righteous rule) began at Po.[7]

For it was there that the Ruler of Shang taught and displayed his wisdom and courage; instead of oppression showing liberality, so that myriads of people sincerely esteemed him.

Now the King's (hope of) handing down his virtue invariably depends on the beginning (of his rule), and in order to establish affection he must begin with his own relations; to establish respect he must commence with his elders; first of all having regard to the family, then to the State, and ultimately to (all within) the Four Seas.

Well now, the late King began by being attentive to the public chronicle; he listened to reproof, did not ignore advice, and was in accord with the leading people. In authority he was capable of intelligence, and in small things was faithful. In dealing with others he did not look for perfection, and in regarding himself he was conscious of his defects. Thus he went on to possess the numerous States. This was indeed difficult! He everywhere sought after capable men that they might afford aid to you his immediate successors.[8] He regulated official punishments, and, as a warning to those in office, said: If you presume to have continual dancing in your mansions, or drinking and singing in your dwellings, or what are commonly called juggling tricks; if you should dare to become addicted to covetousness and lust,[9] or should be constantly idling and sporting, or (addicted to) what are commonly called dissolute habits; if you presume to indulge in revilings at the words of the wise, opposing the faithful and sincere, repelling those who delight in virtue, and consorting with headstrong youths, (who engage in) what are called disorderly tricks,—of these three tricks and ten vices, if a magistrate or officer have a single one in his person, his family will be ruined, while if the ruler of the country should have one of them in his person, his country will become a wilderness. If inferior ministers do not protect the King (from these evils) their punishment will be a stigma. This is for the instruction of young people and scholars.[10]

Yes, indeed! the succeeding ruler should be careful of his person and meditate on these things. These sacred counsels are all-embracing: this excellent advice is very explicit.

The Supreme Ruler is not unchanging. On those who do good he will confer blessings, while on those who do evil he will inflict as many evils. Do you in the practice of virtuous works be ever mindful of the smallest; and in those that are evil do not consider only those that are great, lest you be the ruin of your honourable families."

NOTES ON SECTION IV

[1] This section is only contained in the ancient script; it is not included in the modern text.

The instructions of E-yun, the Prime Minister of T'ang, were given for the admonition of the succeeding Emperor, Tai-kia, otherwise known as Tai-tsung, the Grand Master.

[2] Literally, the first sacrifice. The date is very explicit. The year of Tai-kia's accession was B.C. 1752.

[3] It is stated that the Shang dynasty established the beginning of the year in the former twelfth month, which was January. This applied to all the ceremonials of State, but they continued reckoning common time from the first month as before. Consequently, "the twelfth month" would be January, and the "second day" was the second of the moon, namely, the fifteenth January B.C. 1752. Thus we have the exact date of the announcement of Tai-kia's accession. The former King is of course Ching-T'ang, the founder of the dynasty of Shang, and the grandfather of Tai-kia.

[4] During the obsequies of an Emperor, and prior to the investiture of his successor, the Prime Minister acted in full regal capacity.

[5] The worthy ancestor of Tai-kia is specially brought into mention by E-yun as he wished to impress the new monarch with a due sense of his many virtues. It is stated in Chinese history that Tai-kia was at first lacking in virtue and disregarded the statutes of T'ang, but was afterwards reformed. Between the first and second parts of the history of Tai-kia (see the following sections) the Emperor was

debarred from the throne and temporarily restrained by E-yun at a newly-built palace at T'ang, where the tomb of the late Emperor was situated. It was only in the third year of the reign that E-yun invested Tai-kia with the Imperial robes and resigned office.

[6] The expression "celestial catastrophes" may refer to violent storms, earthquakes, inundations, or other terrestrial phenomena, occurring in connection with malefic configurations of the celestial bodies. The word translated "catastrophe" is compounded of *chuen* (channels) and *ho* (fire), *i.e.*, channels of fire. This may be an ideogram for lightning. The celestial causes being harmonious, all sublunary things were in accord.

[7] The successor of the rulers of Hia was Kieh, or Kia-kwei, who ended the dynasty, and who was reduced to the semblance of virtue by T'ang. Ming-tiau was the capital of the Hia country, as Po was that of the Shang rulers. While Hia remained in the virtuous path of Yaou, Shun and Ta-Yu, the decree of Heaven was not withdrawn from them, but when they "lost the path," as was said of Hia's last ruler, the dynasty came to an abrupt end. E-yun points the moral for the instruction of the new King of Shang.

[8] A king may possess the virtues of filial piety and brotherly affection, and then in order to extend their operation and gain the affections of the people, he has but to include in his affection and regard the parents and brothers of all his subjects. But without this beginning in the home circle it is not possible to govern wisely. It is an old saying: *Ching ki hwa jin*, *i.e.*, Perfect yourself and then correct others. Also it is said: *Wang shi ti yay ming*, The king is the first subject. T'ang was remarkable for his modesty, deference, intelligence, wisdom, and bravery. He practised self-government first of all, and then gradually extended it until he possessed the entire populace. E-yun recites these virtues of the dead monarch because he had reason to suspect the integrity of Tai-kia. The public chronicle contained the rules for public conduct, and was

supplemented by a list of the offenders against those rules. It is referred to in the Canon of Shun.

[9] Kia-kwei had not obliterated the regulations, he had only neglected them, and they were revived by T'ang. The Prime Minister points out to the Emperor and his Princes, that if a vice exists in a judge or ruler of the people it is bound to result in hurt to himself and the country. The word *si*, rendered lust, also imports the idea of colouring or complexion, and is elsewhere so translated.

[10] The higher the office the greater the responsibility. The penalty of disregarding the laws might be that of death, banishment, or branding. E-yun here mentions the stigma of branding, but whether figuratively spoken or not seems uncertain. The institutes of Yu, when acting as Regent to the Emperor Shun, were very severe on all forms of lawlessness, and it is said that he ruled "by the virtue of metal," *i.e.*, rigorously. All officers and ministers are inferior to the Emperor, and therefore the threat of stigma might have referred even to the Princes who were present on the occasion of the annual sacrifice, except that E-yun specially mentions "young people and scholars." But such were known to be among the associates of the grandson of T'ang (see Book I., Section II., as to the five kinds of punishment prescribed by the laws).

[11] E-yun here brings home his instructions to the person of Tai-kia, "the succeeding ruler," and intimated that the Supreme Being is not unchanging, and will speedily divert the government from one family to another upon only slight provocation. Small virtues should not be disregarded, because in the matter of extensive government they produce cumulative effects. Neither should great evils only be avoided, since reversals of government and the devastation of countries are as likely to result from small evils as from great ones. Virtues should be cultivated, because they are good for oneself and others; while the smallest evils should be avoided, lest they grow and devour us, or accumulate and overwhelm us.

SECTION V

TAI-KAI (*first part*)

Now the succeeding monarch did not conform to O-hang.[1] E-yun therefore effected a written declaration, saying:

The former King carefully regarded Heaven's luminous decree, so that he was in favour with the higher and lower powers, the gods and demons, the spirits of the land and grain, and the spirits of the ancestral temple.

He was invariably mindful of terrestrial things, and Heaven had regard to his virtues, and used him to uphold the great decree and to pacify and subdue the numerous States.

Now Yun was personally able to give assistance to the Prince and to control the people, so that the succeeding King fully possessed the foundation and method (of government).[2]

Now Yun personally has hitherto observed, in regard to the Western City of Hia, that while it remained true it had every prospect of enduring. Its governors also were of apparent stability. But, later on, the succeeding rulers were not capable of accomplishing (anything of merit), and their assistants were also unable to perfect (their work).[3] Therefore let their successors take heed and be mindful of all the imperial duties, for, if they be neglected, disgrace will fall upon their ancestors.[4]

The King (thought this) was mere verbiage, and did not thoughtfully regard it.[5]

E-yun therefore continued, saying:

The former King in the morning twilight attained to perfect illumination, and sat still waiting for the dawn.[6] Then he sought everywhere for learned and accomplished scholars, to instruct and direct his people. Do not therefore offend against his decrees, lest it be your own downfall.[7] Bear in mind the virtue of economy, and concern yourself only with future projects. If the archer draws his bow, he looks to see that the end of his arrow is properly adjusted, and then lets fly. Have due regard to rectitude, and imitate your ancestors in their actions. Then shall I indeed be gratified, and ten thousand generations will applaud you.[8]

The King even yet was unable to reform.[9]

E-yun therefore added: This is not a right course. Tendencies are apt to beget habits. I must not leave him in the hands of ungodly people.

He therefore established him in a palace at T'ang, to ponder over the former King and his instructions, so not to be left in lifelong obscurity.

Therefore the King went to the palace of T'ang, and was engaged in mourning until at last he was capable of sincere virtue.[10]

NOTES ON SECTION V

[1] The name O-hang or A-hang means "the adjuster," and apparently refers to E-yun in his capacity as Prime Minister. In all probability this introductory statement is directly related to the subject of the preceding section. Chinese history records the fact that Tai-kia subverted the principles of government advocated and enforced by his grandfather, the Emperor T'ang.

[2] T'ang carefully practised and preserved the decrees of Heaven as delivered to Yaou and Shun. A wise ruler and a devout man, he received Heaven's benediction at his accession, and the confidence of the people was held by him throughout his reign. And inasmuch as E-yun assisted him in the establishment of the Shang Dynasty, and was respon-

sible for the pacification of the people, he here informs the heir of T'ang that he very happily succeeds to a government already securely founded and regulated, as well as to his venerable ancestor's precepts and example.

[3] E-yun having served under the government of Kieh (Kia-kwei), was able to illustrate his subject by reference to the fate of Hia, which is called "the Western City," because its capital Ming-taou was to the west of Po, the capital of Shang.

[4] It was deemed useless to appeal to one lacking in self-respect to take heed of his own honour; but knowing him to be possessed of some degree of filial affection, E-yun appeals to the King on the grounds of his ancestor's honour.

[5] This passage is a connecting link supplied by the historian.

[6] The expression "waiting for the dawn" is a figure of speech. It indicates that, amid the chaos of misgovernment under Kia-kwei, the virtuous T'ang perceived the course of affairs, and received Heaven's inspiration to rectify them, which he did as soon as the slumbering populace awakened to a sense of their wrongs. Thus the expression is equivalent to "biding one's time."

[7] As T'ang was impelled to overthrow Kia-kwei, so another might receive the decree to overthrow Tai-kia if he did not follow the decree of Heaven, and E-yun knew him to be both extravagant and improvident of his people's needs.

[8] The importance of careful action in the directing of energy is illustrated by the familiar simile of the archer adjusting his arrow. The expression "Have due regard to rectitude" may be translated "Respect the upright"; but Medhurst renders it as follows: "Be respectfully cautious therefore about that in which your mind rests," meaning, in one or the other form, hit your mark, attain your ambition, but be careful in your choice of them.

[9] Tai-kia was not duly affected by this instruction from his Minister, and was unable to reform himself. The statement is another connecting-link supplied by the historian.

[10] E-yun, seeing that his instructions were disregarded, built a palace over the tomb of T'ang, hence called T'ang or Shan-t'ang, and sent the Emperor there "to mourn his ancestor" and to ponder over his own delinquencies. For if Tai-kia had been left to his associates, the tendency to evil which was in him would soon have become a confirmed habit, whereas, by timely warning and opportunity for repentance, he could be saved from eternal disgrace.

SECTION VI

TAI-KIA (*continued*)

It was in the third year (of Tai-kia's reign), in the twelfth month and the first day of the month, that E-yun, for the purpose of crowning and enrobing him, escorted the succeeding sovereign on his return to Po.[1]

He then made a declaration, saying:

The people without a ruler are incapable of controlling one another so as to be productive (of good works), and a Prince without subjects has no means of governing the surrounding regions.

Supreme Heaven, favourably regarding Shang, has given its succeeding King power to renew his virtue; verily an enduring and inexhaustible blessing![2]

The King made obeisance and bowed low his head, saying:

I, the lowly one, was not alive to virtue, and submitted myself to unruly habits, by licentiousness transgressing the laws and by irregularities offending against propriety, so that I speedily brought down reproach upon my own person. When Heaven produces trouble, it is yet always possible to sustain it; but when a man himself brings about an evil thing, there is no way out of it. In the past I have resisted my good master's instructions, being unable (to receive them) at the outset. But now, guided by his quickening virtues, I will endeavour to make sure of the end.[3]

E-yun made obeisance and bowed low his head, saying:

Whosoever cultivates his individuality, being sincere in virtue and in accord with his dependants, is an illustrious ruler. The former King was childlike and merciful to the overburdened and poor, and the people submitted to his decrees and were without exception glad. And when he was in one State the neighbours would say: We await our Prince, and when our Prince comes there will be no more inflictions. Your Majesty should be solicitous (of attaining) his virtue, and should regard your noble ancestor, never giving way to indifference. In serving your predecessors, observe filial piety; in directing your inferiors, observe consideration; in regarding the future, show clearness of vision; and in meditating on virtue, manifest discernment, and I shall then reflect upon your Majesty's excellences without satiety.[4]

NOTES ON SECTION VI

[1] The regeneration of Tai-kia being completed, he was enthroned in B.C. 1749 at Po, the Prime Minister conducting him in state from T'ang to the capital.

[2] A nation without a ruler is like a body without a head, altogether incapable of self-control, while a king without subjects in accord with him is like a head presiding over a paralysed body. The term "surrounding regions" is literally "the four quarters," *tse kin*. It is equivalent to "the four corners of the earth," "the four winds," "the Four Seas," etc., indicating surrounding parts in all directions. Tai-kia's reformation was accepted as a sign of Heaven not having averted its blessing from Shang.

[3] The King not being as yet enthroned, makes obeisance to E-yun as virtual ruler of the country, and while confessing his errors, determines upon making a good end by righteous government in the future. By this conquest of self, Tai-kia has earned for himself in Chinese history the honorific name of Tai-tsung, Grand Master.

[4] E-yun, before resigning the government of the country to the Emperor, gives some instruction for his guidance.

General Note.—This event happened in the year B.C. 1749, or the forty-seventh year of the sixteenth cycle. The cycles being each of sixty years, it is usual, when the cycle is known, to mention only the year. The first cycle having begun in February B.C. 2696, "cycle XV., anno 47," would mean that fifteen cycles have elapsed, and forty-seven years of the sixteenth also. Medhurst, in his chronological notes, has uniformly dropped a whole cycle, making the first cycle to begin in B.C. 2637 instead of B.C. 2696, and further departs from the astronomical parallel by the use of the secular date, which is one year more than the astronomical.

SECTION VII

TAI-KIA (*conclusion*)

E-YUN again made an announcement to the King, saying :

Verily it has been said that Heaven has no predilections, but to those capable of veneration it is favourably disposed. The people have no constant devotion (for individual rulers), but they attach themselves to those who are benevolent. The demons and spirits are not always propitiated, but they accept the sacrifices of those who are capable of sincerity. How difficult it is therefore to fill the celestial throne ![1]

Where virtue is, there only is discipline : virtue being deficient, confusion prevails. With the disciplined the path is invariably prosperous, but in disorderly associations affairs are for ever in chaos.

Be ever careful with whom you associate and you will be a most illustrious ruler. The former King was continually concerned in regard to his virtue, and was thus able to represent the Supreme Ruler.[2]

Now your Majesty inherits the possession of the time-honoured method, but yet should continually aim at this same thing.

If one would ascend on high, let him esteem himself lowly. If he would attain to the far-off, he should take care of his first steps. Do not contemn the affairs of the people, nor (disregard) their troubles. Do not repose on your throne, but reflect upon its dangers. Be mindful of results while yet at the beginning.[3] When counsel is

opposed to your feelings, you should seek confirmation in the right way. When advice is agreeable to your inclinations, you must seek (for their parallel) amongst false doctrines.[4]

But there! without reflection, how can you ascertain? And without alacrity, how can you achieve? Let but the one man be very good, and the numerous States will be perfected. The Prince must not, for the sake of high-sounding words, confuse old regulations. The Minister must not, for the sake of favour or gain, remain in office after having completed his work. The country will then continue to be the recipient of blessings.[5]

NOTES ON SECTION VII

[1] The expression "Heaven has no predilections" also occurs in the *Tao-teh-king*, where it is cited by Lao-tze as an ancient saying. But although God is "no respecter of persons," it is certain that the laws of Heaven (*tien-tao*) are in favour of the righteous doer, for apart from the constant and universally-expressed assurance that "the way of the righteous shall prosper," it is a principle of natural law that the good, the beautiful, and the true—everything, in fact, which possesses the characteristic of harmony—embodies the elements which make for endurance and stability. Only the discordant, the inharmonious, annihilates itself. To the extent that we are in harmony with the existing order of things, or can adapt ourselves to the everchanging aspects of our environment, is our welfare assured; and when we fall out of accord with God and Nature, and fail to harmonise the lower and higher principles of our being, distress of mind and body follows as a natural consequence.

Respect, sincerity, and benevolence are difficult to maintain towards all men under all conditions, and therefore E-yun says: How difficult it is to fill the celestial throne!

[2] The expression "Be continually careful," or "Be ever careful with whom you associate," is literally: To the end from the beginning take care! Here the end is put in the

first place, as being of the highest importance and the objective of all action. For if the end be not a worthy one, there is no need of care at all. T'ang was continually careful of results and solicitous of uses. Therefore he fulfilled the eternal decrees of Heaven, and to that extent represented deity to the people and received their homage.

[3] Tai-kia inherited a kingdom already established and harmonised, and was possessed of the time-honoured method, otherwise called "the sacred key," which was traditional with the rulers of the Celestial Empire from the days of Foh-hi. It therefore only remained for Tai-kia to maintain the traditions of right government that the celestial decree should remain with his family. E-yun quotes some principles for his consideration. They are to be found quoted also by Lao-tze in his work already mentioned.

[4] The phrase "seek confirmation in the right way" is literally: Search in the Tao. The expression, "You must seek for their parallel in false doctrines," reads literally, Search in the non-Tao. The sacred key of righteous government was a body of doctrine communicated in writing and handed down from one ruler to another. Frequent reference is made to its teachings throughout the text of this work, and it must have been carefully preserved from the time of Yaou, if not indeed from the days of the Yellow Emperor Hoang-ti, and it is to these principles that Tai-kia is referred.

[5] It was forbidden even the Emperor to remodel the text of the institutes of Yaou and Shun. It was enough that he should follow the "old path," or what was named *Ku-tao*. Following the example of the ancients, who gave up the throne in advancing years, as did Yaou to Shun and Shun to Ta-yu, the Ministers of State were required to hand in their staves of office after the completion of each special commission. They also nominally resigned office when they waited upon the Emperor at Court at the end of each year. This enabled the Emperor, if necessary, to dispense with their services, and elect new Officers of State without prejudice to anyone. Thus the government never fell into senile desuetude.

SECTION VIII

BOTH HAD SIMPLE VIRTUE[1]

E-YUN, having restored the government to his Majesty the Emperor, was about to announce his resignation, and gave out some admonitions to virtue, saying :

Verily, Heaven is difficult to understand ! Its decree is not invariable. He who establishes his virtue will sustain his supremacy, but if his virtue fails to be constant, though he possess all things he will be devastated.[2]

Hia's ruler was incapable of realising virtue. He was neglectful of the gods and oppressive to the people. Therefore Imperial Heaven would not sustain him, but sent its ministers to the various quarters to proclaim those who could cultivate its decree, and who considered and sought for simple virtue, so that they might effect the control of the Spirits.[3]

It was I myself, in company with T'ang, both possessing simple virtue, who were able to satisfy the Celestial Heart and to receive Heaven's decree, so that we had the control of the nine possessions and their multitudes.[4] Thus we had power to change the Hia regulations.[5]

Not that Heaven favoured the Shang dynasty, but that Heaven had regard to simple virtue. Not that Shang sought after the lower people, but that the people reverted to simple virtue (when displayed by him). Virtue being simple, industries will invariably be successful; but virtue being at twos and threes,[6] enterprises will invariably be

unfortunate. It is by no means that success and failure are indiscriminately dispensed to mankind, but Heaven sends down distress and blessings according to merit.[7]

Now the succeeding sovereign having again received the decree is renewing his virtue, and the end in view being simple, he is thus daily renewed.[8]

In appointing officers, let them be wise and learned, and let your attendants be true men.[9] A Minister in assisting the King should aid his virtue, and in assisting his inferiors he should befriend the people. How difficult it is, how careful (one must be), to be capable and yet simple!

Virtue has no invariable rule, but is located by good as its law. Goodness has no certain location, but co-operates with capable simplicity.[10]

Let the numerous tribes all confess and say: How great are the King's words! And again let them say: How simple is the King's heart! He can receive the inheritance of former Kings, and yet continue to promote the welfare of all his people![11]

Verily, in a temple of seven generations you may behold the (fruits of) virtue, and in the chief of ten thousand yeomen you may behold the cause of good government.[12]

A Prince without subjects cannot direct. A people without a ruler cannot serve. Do not inflate yourself in order to correct others. If every yeoman, every matron, does not succeed in self-direction, the people's ruler will fail along with them to perfect his merit.[13]

NOTES ON SECTION VIII

[1] This chapter is only to be found in the ancient writing. It is not contained in the modern text. The historians gave it the present title from a phrase which occurs in the text, "Both had simple virtue," which E-yun is represented as saying of the Emperor T'ang and himself.

[2] "Though he possesses all things he will be devastated" reads: *Yiu kiu i fang*, *i.e.*, having nine in order to lose them.

Tsae-chin says that this refers to the nine provinces. But as the kingdom had already been divided into twelve provinces before the days of E-yun, it must in that case refer to the original nine provinces into which Yaou divided the Empire. It is more likely that the number nine, used by itself and without any nominal adjunct to indicate territories, or anything else, indicates "all things." It will be remembered that Nine is the perfect number of the Chinese, and is here used apparently in the same sense as the number Seven is used in Hebrew scriptures, to signify an abundance. The number Ten was so used by the Romans. The number Twelve appears to be essentially British. All nationalities appear to have their dominant numbers.

[3] Kieh, the Ruler of Hia, was not possessed of the *yih teh* (simple virtue), and his oppression of the people caused his downfall. It was considered a most deplorable thing for any country not to have open communion with Heaven through the person of its ruler and the spirits of the patriarchal ancestors. The expression which refers to the "cutting off" of a ruler embodies the idea of his severance from the spiritual hierarchy.

[4] E-yun and the Emperor T'ang were selected by Heaven (*Vox populi vox Dei* being admitted) to receive the decree and to govern the Empire, because they were possessed of the Simple Virtue. On the Virtue of Simplicity, see *Tao-teh-king*, Chapter LXV.

[5] The regulation here referred to was the commencement of the year, to change which was the exclusive mark of dynastic power. T'ang changed the beginning of the year from February to January, and it so remained till the founding of the Chow dynasty by Wu-wang, B.C. 1121, when it was again changed to December. It was not until B.C. 103, in the time of (the Emperor) Wu-ti, that the ancient method of accounting from February was established anew. Since then it has remained unchanged.

[6] "At twos and threes" expresses the idea of disorder and equivocation, as if the matter of virtue were in doubt. In some instances the expression is equivalent to our

"neither one thing nor the other," and in other cases it carries the meaning of "at sixes and sevens."

[7] Success or failure depends upon causes which operate from the beginning to the end of any enterprise. E-yun says that the results are not capricious, but have direct relation to individual merit in the unit and collective merit in the mass. The phrase "according to merit" (*tsae teh*) may be translated "in virtue" or virtuously, but the context appears to favour the above phrase.

[8] "The end in view being simple" is literally, The completion from the beginning being one. It may embody the philosophic idea of the relation of causes to effects, or yet may refer to the ethical principle of "acting without regard to the fruit of action," by conceiving the operation and its result to be related to a single motive, namely, that of duty. The phrase is somewhat difficult of exact rendering, yet it is easy to understand that one whose actions have reference to the fruits of action is merely extending yesterday into to-day and to-day into to-morrow, looking for the results of past action and sowing that he may reap. On the other hand, one who acts spontaneously and without premeditation, as from simple virtue, is new-born to each day's work.

[9] The attendants of a sovereign are those who wait upon his person on the left hand and the right hand. Hence they are called his "left and right" in the text.

[10] To be both capable in work and simple in motive was anciently esteemed to be of the highest merit. Virtue pertains to that which is good, but goodness is only found along with capacity and simplicity. Hence there is an abstract virtue in the root of things, and an active virtue in the many branches which spring from that root. When good motive inheres in good action, it is called "perfect virtue" (*ching teh*), "capable simplicity," or "simple virtue."

[11] This passage refers to the reformation and enlightenment of Tai-kia, and constitutes a proclamation of his having attained to that simple virtue which was the distinguishing quality of ancient rulers. Tia-kia could now

interrogate the spirits, perform the sacrifice in the ancestral temple, and obtain the decrees of Heaven. Hence he was a true father and protector of the people.

[12] In those days the Emperor had seven ancestral temples enclosed within a single wall. These pagodas were for the line of fathers on one side and for the sons on the other side, three upon each side, the central temple being for the first ancestor. After seven generations the temple was removed, but for many reasons it might be removed long before that period had expired. It was deemed a mark of ancestral virtue if the temple stood for the allotted period. The Emperor is referred to as "the chief of ten thousand yeomen." To hold the position of Lord of the Imperial troops, he must have the willing devotion of his subjects, a matter which depended on his methods of government. Hence it is said : "In the Chief of ten thousand troops you may see (the embodiment of) good government."

[13] It is not necessary to virtuous living that one should pretend to the correction of others. It is enough that one should simply be himself, adding his quota to the sum of human service, and striving after self-perfection. The responsibilities of government are such that failure and misery among the people means imperfection in the method of government, and hence in the ruler himself. It is an old adage that "A chain is no stronger than its weakest link." Therefore the highest degree of loyalty and patriotism is expressed in self-government by the individual. An Emperor's work is not completed till the people have at their command the means of self-perfection. In the Chinese the word merit is the same as "strenuous work," being compounded of the two roots *kang*, a workman, and *lieh*, strength. Hence strenuous work is the index of merit. The originator of the written language of China, Tsung-hia, was evidently a man of philosophical genius.

SECTION IX

PUON-KANG (*first part*)

PUON-KANG removed to Yin, but the people did not follow him to the new settlement. He therefore openly addressed the families of the disaffected people, and issued an injunction, saying:[1]

Our former ruler came and brought his capital to this place, having regard to our people, lest they should be entirely destroyed.[2] We cannot (as we are now) mutually assist one another to obtain a livelihood. The diviners, on being consulted, say: It (Yin) is suitable to our adjustment. Former Kings, having important affairs on hand, respectfully and discreetly (sought) Heaven's will. In this, however, they did not invariably seek to consult their own wishes, nor constantly to remain in their own capital, and up till now five States (have had) royal occupation.[3]

And now, if we do not comply with the ancient (practice), we cannot know but that Heaven may cut off its decree (from us). Much less can it be said that we are able to follow up the zeal of the ancient rulers.[4] As hewn trees have power to sprout, so Heaven will continue its decree to this new city, connecting and restoring the former ruler's great prosperity, and bringing peace to the four quarters (of our empire).[5]

Puon-kang, in giving instruction to the people, commenced with these holding office, in order to constantly

remind them of their business and to rectify their conduct, saying:

Let none presume to disregard the common people's grievances. It is the royal decree that all families, without distinction, (shall come up) even to the Court.

The King, in effect, said:[6] Come, you multitudes, and I will instruct you. Do you throw off your selfishness and eschew pride and indolence. Anciently, my predecessor[7] was only concerned with employing old-established persons in the government. The King variously announced what was to be carried out, and they did not conceal his intentions. The King paid due regard (to his government), and they (his ministers) did not have to utter deceptive words. The people thus effected a great reformation. But now you are forever talking to persuade the people to your confidence. I do not know what you are prating about![8]

Not that I myself wish to abandon this virtue, but it is you who obscure it. You do not venerate my person, (which fact is as apparent to me) as looking at a fire. I, however, by my unskilful methods have brought about this fault.[9]

As the cord in a net, so let there be uniformity of procedure, and not confusion. If the husbandman cultivate his land diligently in the tilling of it, he will probably reap a harvest. If you could moderate your desires and practise real virtue towards the people, even as to your own relatives and friends, justly might you enlarge your speech and say that you have increased your virtue. But you do not heed the grievous ills both afar and near, (but you are) as the indolent husbandman who makes himself easy and does not exert himself in arduous works, but neglects his fields, so that he does not have any crops of millet and rice.[10]

You do not effect concord by speaking salutary words to the heads of the families, but you yourselves create evil by involving yourselves in conspiracies and licentiousness, thus courting disaster to your own persons. Having thus set an example of wickedness to the people, you are experienc-

ing the consequences (of your folly), and are reproaching yourselves.

Of what avail is it?

Considering these poor people, if at any time they severally should address you with their complainings, you are ready at a word with false assertions. You are more particular with me, who can determine the brevity or length of your command! Why do you not rather present them to me, instead of circulating such loose reports to agitate and involve the populace? Though you were like a raging fire on the plain, so that you could not be approached by the people, yet even then you could be beaten out and extinguished. Thus it is that you all effect discomfort to yourselves. It is not I who am to blame.[11]

Che-jin has a saying which reads: As to men, we only want them old; as to instruments, we do not want them old, but new.[12]

Aforetime my predecessor, together with his progenitors and fathers, mutually shared both leisure and toil. How, then, dare I administer unjust penalties? For generations they made account of your ancestors' zeal, and I (likewise) will not conceal your good works. Thus do I (present) great sacrifices to former rulers, while your ancestors partake of those presents; and whether they bring blessings or calamities, I for my part do not dare to exercise false principles.

I have informed you of the difficulty (as carefully) as an archer settles his intention (before shooting). Do not disdain the aged and experienced, nor despise the bereft and the young. Let each excel in his own duties, and put forth his strength to comply with my individual suggestions.[13]

Whether distantly or nearly (related), the criminal offender shall be put to death, while the virtuous doer shall have his goodness proclaimed. The nation's welfare rests with you all. If the nation be depressed, it will only be (in consequence of) me, the isolated man, having neglected the punishments.

One and all of you, this is my declaration. From henceforth let each of you devote yourselves to your business, fulfil the duties of your offices, and regulate your conversation, or punishment will extend to you personally, and your regret will be unavailing.[14]

NOTES ON SECTION IX

The ancient text contains this section, but the modern text has this and the following two sections as one.

[1] Puon-kang began to reign in cycle XXI., year 37, or B.C. 1399. Between Tai-kia and Puon-kang there were fourteen rulers of Shang, whose history is not comprised in the Shu-king. Tai-kia and his successors ruled at Po until Ho-tan-kia removed the capital to Siang in B.C. 1532. It was then that the principles of government instituted by E-yun under Ching-T'ang, and continued by his son E-tseih under the Emperor Tai-wuh, began to decline, and the power of the dynasty began to fail. Several Princes neglected their attendance at Court, many attacks were made upon the country, the people became rebellious, and the throne was insecure. In Tsu-yih's reign (B.C. 1523) the capital was devastated, and the government was removed to Kang. Eight years later Kang was devastated, and Hing was made the centre of government.

Puon-kang, seeing the root of all this trouble, reverted to a strenuous use of the principles of Ching-T'ang, and removed the capital to Yin. The Ministers and people were averse to the removal, and hence the Emperor drew up the declaration contained in this section.

[2] The former ruler referred to in this instance was Tsu-yih, who removed the capital from Siang to Kang, and from Kang to Hing, on account of the devastations caused by the flooding of the Hoang-ho or Yellow River. Puon-kang therefore refers to Kang when he says: "Our former ruler came and brought his capital to this place."

[3] It was customary, from the earliest times, for the Emperor of China to consult the sacred Tortoise, the astrologers,

and other means of foreknowledge, in all matters of importance to the State. It was probably believed that, when human thought had exhausted itself in the endeavour to arrive at just conclusions, the doubt still remaining, it was then permitted to use divinations, the virtue and reliability of which would be in direct relation to the integrity of the consulting person. The decree of Heaven being vested in the person of the Emperor, so long as he remained in virtue, the result of his consultations would be reliable and fit to be acted upon; but when he fell away from virtue, the divinations would become obscured or utterly false, and so he would become involved in difficulties at every step. Up to the time of Puon-kang, the capital of Shang had been successively at Po, Hiaou, Siang, Kang, and Hing. These are the "five places" referred to. It was now to be removed to Yin, which is Yen-tse in Honan, lat. 35° N., long. 4° W. of Pekin.

[4] The practice of the ancient rulers was to follow the decree of Heaven as revealed by the divinations, to cherish the lives of the people, and to be zealous in the welfare of the country.

[5] The Emperor is here speaking allegorically. Kang was the hewn tree, and Yin was to be the new growth on the old trunk. It is here indicated that the goodwill of Heaven is not attached to any particular place, but will follow the virtuous ruler wherever he may go.

[6] The expression "in effect" is represented by the word *io*, which implies a matter which is in doubt, and here indicates that what follows are not the actual words of the Emperor, but merely convey the purport of his discourse.

[7] The words *Ngo sien chu*, My former ruler or predecessor, refer to Ching-T'ang, the founder of the dynasty.

[8] Ching-T'ang's wise rule is referred to by all his successors. His Ministers imitated his zeal, and having no personal wishes at variance with the dictates of the Emperor, they never had occasion to pretend to a compliance secretly wishing to disobey, as was evidently the case with the Ministers of Puon-kang in regard to the edict of removing the capital to Yin.

[9] The Emperor perceived that there was a want of respect for himself among his Ministers, and attributed the fact to his having been too lenient with them. He now, in this declaration, indicates the duties of his Ministers and officers, and resolves to strengthen and correct his government.

[10] He reproaches his Ministers for their indolence and self-indulgence. He perceives that they look well after the welfare of their friends and relatives, and bids them do so with the people also. The expression *ta yen*, "enlarge your speech," means to have something worth talking about.

[11] The Emperor makes a scathing indictment of his Ministers, accusing them of duplicity, cowardice, and licentiousness by misrepresenting his decrees to the people, by suppressing the true state of popular feeling in regard to them, and by circulating false reports in order to secure the adherence of the people. Then he sarcastically adds: But you are more careful with me who can determine your existence! By this he would convey to them his knowledge of the fact that, although they issued false reports to the people with great alacrity, yet they continually concealed the result of these reports from him.

[12] Men become experienced, cautious, and moderate as they advance in years, while instruments become worn out with use. Hence the desirability of having old principles and new methods, old rulers and new officers.

[13] "As an archer settles his intention" has reference to the single-eyed ambition which is the characteristic of all virtuous action. It is necessary to be careful at the beginning to concentrate on the object aimed at, and then to exert one's full strength.

[14] The Emperor's decision to strictly enforce the punishment of offenders, whether they be near or distant from his person or the throne, and equally to reward virtue wherever it was displayed, shows that he had fully realised the need for strenuous government if the country was to be reclaimed from the evils which had grown up under the rule of his immediate predecessor.

SECTION X

PUON-KANG (*continued*)

PUON-KANG went forth and crossed the Ho to effect the people's removal, and addressing the people themselves, who would not follow him, he openly declared (his principles) with sincerity, urging them all to subject themselves and come to him without rabble in the royal precincts. Puon-kang then arose and led the people forth, saying:

Hearken intelligently to my words, and do not fail to regard my decrees.[1]

Yes, indeed! Aforetime my predecessors unceasingly applied themselves to the people's interests most attentively, supporting their chiefs with mutual affection, and thus did not fail to sustain the seasons (of adversity).[2]

When Yin was subjected to great calamities, the former Kings were not indolent in dealing with them, but had regard to the people's interests in causing them to remove.[3] Why do you fail to regard the memory of our ancient Princes? When with due regard to your welfare you were commanded to remove yourselves, I was but solicitous of sharing your welfare. It is not that you have offended (in any way) and deserve punishment. And if I have commanded you to come to this new capital, it is, moreover, solely on your account and in order largely to promote your own ends.

Now I have been striving to effect your removal in order to tranquillise and establish the nation. But you do not

sympathise with my heart's sore distress, and have universally neglected to make known your feelings, which, being respectfully prompted by sincerity, would influence me, a solitary man.[4]

Thus you are only deluding and perplexing yourselves, just as in loading a boat if you do not accord (with time and tide) you only endanger the cargo. Your sincerity is not conspicuous, and you only (succeed in) mutually involving us, so that we suffer. If you do not attend to this trouble—being self-distressed—how can it be lessened?

You do not make your plans far enough in advance so as to provide against distress, and thus you greatly augment your sorrows. Now that you have the present with you and not the future, how can you live from above?[5]

Now therefore I command you in this instance not to be self-indulgent to your own detriment, lest you hurt your bodies and pervert your minds. I trust to obtain a continuance of our decree from Heaven. Why do I thus overawe you? I do it to further your general welfare. I consider our former Prince's zealous labour for all your ancestors, and I am greatly disposed to cherish you, because I contemplate you in this light.[6]

If I err in my government by remaining in this (place), our exalted Prince will send down afflictions evil and calamitous, saying: Why do you oppress my people?

If you multitudes of people do not actively co-operate with me, a solitary man, in this same project, our former Princes will greatly inflict upon you evils and calamities, saying: Why do you not sustain my young descendant in this relationship?[7]

Because you have failed in virtue, they above will punish you, and you will not be able to escape.[8]

Of old my predecessor, having toiled for your ancestors and fathers, rendered you collectively my cherished people. But if you have wrongful thoughts in your minds, my predecessors, who comforted your ancestors and your fathers, and your ancestors and fathers themselves, will cut off and reject you, and will not reclaim you from death.

Those of mine who have the regulation of government and are associated with my throne, should they hoard up treasure, their ancestors and fathers will vehemently complain to my exalted Prince, saying: They inflict great penalties on our descendants—thus inducing the exalted Prince to extensively inflict misfortunes upon them.[9]

Well, then, I have now informed you (on this matter) of not removing, and do you therefore continually respect my great desire. Let us no longer be separated from one another, but do you share my designs and thoughts, so that you may intelligently follow them out, each one observing moderation in his heart.[10]

Should there be any unrighteous or refractory among you, subverting and trangressing (the laws) without fear, and on every occasion conspiring treacherously, I will cut off their noses,[11] and exterminate them, without leaving them residue or possession, and I will not permit the removal of their posterity to this new city.[12]

So then be very active, and I will so endeavour that your removal shall be to the perpetual advantage of your families.

NOTES ON SECTION X

[1] What follows may be taken as the substance of the address to the people, referred to in the preceding paragraph, where it says: "He openly declared his principles with sincerity." The invitation of the Emperor was intended to combat and overcome the pernicious effect of his Ministers' unfaithful advice, for it was known to him that in many cases they had gone about persuading the people to remain at Hing, because it suited their purposes.

[2] Puon-kang here refers to the cause of the removal to Yin, which was that there were extensive floods at Hing, caused by the overflowing of the Yellow River. It is presumed that the desolation might have been prevented by a timely survey of the land and the rivers, and the due application of adequate embankments. The danger of

flooding might also have been foreseen by attention to the seasons and the prognostics. But all these things had fallen into neglect before the days of Puon-kang through intestinal wars and bad administration.

[3] Yin is another name for the Shang dynasty. In later history the successors of the Shang dynasty are indiscriminately referred to by one or the other name. The name of Yin was derived from the incident of this removal to Yin under the rule of Puon-kang.

[4] "The one man," "the solitary man," "a single individual," etc. (*yay jin*), is an expression of self-disparagement and commiseration employed by Royalty, and particularly by the Emperor. It is perhaps better expressed by "a lonely man," or "the solitary man."

Lao-tze, in the *Tao-teh-king* refers to this custom (Chapter xxxix.):

. . . . Princes and Kings call themselves "orphans," "isolated," and "chariots without wheels." Do they not thereby acknowledge their authority to be based upon and supported by their inferiors? Who can deny it? Surely a chariot without wheels is no chariot at all!

[5] The Emperor here indicates the need for provident schemes; but such having been neglected, and the country overtaken and devastated by extensive floods, the people can but make the most of present opportunities and leave the rest to Heaven. It is as if he had said: Now you must make the most of a difficult situation since you made no plans against the day of disaster. The original passage, *kiu ki yiu kin wang how joo ho sang tsai shang*, is capable of a considerable diversity of meaning, but the purport seems to be: Since the whole of your attention and interest is vested in your present advantage, and since you have taken no thought for the future, you cannot look to Heaven to sustain you in your present distress, but must get yourselves out of the difficulty as best you may. Then follows the Emperor's advice regarding what is best to be done.

[6] The "former divine Prince" who laboured for the

ancestors of Puon-kang's people was Ching-T'ang, whom the Emperor continually held before his mind as an example to himself and the nation. His veneration of T'ang was such that he declared he could but cherish the people who were descendants of those who served the great and virtuous founder of the Shang dynasty. It is recorded in Chinese history that Puon-kang practised the rules of government adopted by Ching-T'ang, established his capital in the ancient centre of T'ang's government, and caused the fortunes of the nation again to flourish.

[7] Beyond the external application of the criminal code, which prescribed punishments for various offences, the Chinese believed that there were other afflictions proceeding from interior sources, and that the Spirits of their ancestors were the instruments under Heaven of producing calamities of various kinds as punishment for their follies and lack of virtue, or as corrective to their ignorance and lack of foresight. At the same time they ascribed all the benefits and blessings of a righteous government to the ministrations of these same Spirits. They sacrificed to them in their ancestral temples, and invoked them on special occasions, believing always that they retained a loyal, patriotic, and paternal regard for the King, the country, and their own descendants. This great Shinto religion can be traced in the text of the *Shu king* before the days of Yaou and Shun.

[8] In the sentence, "Because you have failed in virtue they above will punish you," we have the peculiar construction *tsze shang ki fa ju*, in which the words *tsze shang* may as well signify self-above, or Higher Self, as "they" (the Spirits). The word *tsze* signifies Self, and may be used in the singular or plural sense, and in the first, second, or third person, so that one must be guided entirely by the context. In rendering it in the third person plural, "*they* above," regard has been paid to the circumstance of the ancestral spirits having been already mentioned. The immediate context, however, would appear to refer the pronoun to "our former Princes." It is possible, without

departing from the literal meaning of the text, to render this particular sentence very differently.

[9] Literally, pearls and gems. Coin was already in use, three sorts having been in existence from the time of Yaou (Book I., Section V.), but gems were still, and for many centuries later, the chief form of accumulating wealth. In the days of Ching-wang of the Chow dynasty (B.C. 1101), the laws regulating the issue of coin from the nine treasuries were remodelled.

[10] Literally, "the middle." The doctrine of the Path of Virtue is called "the Middle Path," and the observance of virtue is called "the due medium."

[11] The words *pi tau* probably refer to the nose-splitting penalty imposed on felons (see Book I., Section II., "Canon of Shun," and Notes on the Text).

[12] The Emperor, having informed the people of the importance of the removal to Yin, now threatens all refractory people with severe penalties, and expresses his intention of making the future capital a permanent and prosperous abode for the families of law-abiding citizens.

SECTION XI

PUON-KANG (*conclusion*)

PUON-KANG having removed, he settled the dwellings of the people and appointed their stations,[1] comforting the people, saying:

Be not trifling and indolent, but aspire to establish the great decree. Now I have revealed the promptings of my heart and reins, and have fully informed you, my numerous people, of my designs. Not that I would inculpate you, but you should not foster angry thoughts, nor conspire together to berail me, the solitary man!

Of old our former King[2] desired to excel in the merits of his predecessors, and removed his capital to Shan,[3] bringing our disabilities under control and displaying his faculties for (the benefit of) my country. But now my people are swayed and scattered about, having no fixed abode; and yet you say to me: Why do you agitate and disturb the multitude of people in regard to removal? It is that Supreme Heaven is willing to renew our exalted ancestor's virtue and prevent confusion to our House.

I and some of my truly respectful (Ministers) would jointly preserve the people's lives by making a perpetual residence in this new city. Wherefore I, a moderate man, do not wish to dispense with your counsel, but would always cultivate good advice, and you would hardly dare to oppose the divinations, but would wish to enlarge this

Empire.[4] Yea, truly! If you Princes of the Empire, you nobles and numerous men of affairs, would but sympathise in my anxiety! I have continually aspired to befriend and guide you, having regard for the respect of my people. I will not support those who love wealth, but will openly reverence the industrious; while those who nourish their fellow-creatures and make plans for the people's security I will employ and esteem.

Now I, having come forward and informed you of my intentions, whether or not (you agree with them), do not fail to regard (these my words).

Do not give yourselves up to amassing wealth and treasure, (but) be very productive and self-sustaining. Diligently diffuse popular virtue and constantly cherish simplicity of thought.[5]

NOTES ON SECTION XI

[1] This would be about the year B.C. 1399, when the removal of the centre of government to the city of Yin was completed. From this time the name of Yin became the designation of the dynasty.

[2] This refers to Ching-T'ang, who aspired to revive the virtuous government of Yaou and Shun.

[3] Po is sometimes called Shan, "the hill," on account of its elevated position. Po was the city of Yin, and its elevated position gave it exemption from the devastations of flooded rivers. T'ang appears to have established his government there because it was the ancient centre of government. He had many difficulties to contend with, among which was a seven years' drought which occurred at the beginning of his reign. He reigned for thirty years, and was well-beloved by the people.

[4] Puon-kang gives two good reasons for wishing the people to remove to Yin: first, that the decree of Heaven might continue with the House of Shang for the good of the people; and secondly, that the prognostications had

proclaimed it as advantageous to them. Puon-kang succeeded in his project, and reigned at Po for twenty-eight years, being succeeded by his younger brothers Siaou-Sin and Siaou-Yih, under whom the power of the dynasty again declined. During the reign of Siaou-Yih, the old duke, Tan-Fuh, removed from Pin to Kia, and changed the name of his State to Chow, which later on became the succeeding dynasty. The Shang dynasty continued for 257 years after the removal of the seat of government to Yin.

[5] The expression *sang-sang* may be rendered "alive and active," or "very productive." The latter is preferred, as an antithesis to "amassing wealth and treasure." It is one thing to produce and use wealth, and quite another to take and hoard it. "Simplicity of thought" (*yay-sin*) may be translated "singleness of heart." Popular virtue (*ming teh*) is not the philosophical abstraction which is related to the Tien-tao, but the principle of simplicity in daily life. Right thought, right speech, right feeling, and right action are thereby translated into right living.

SECTION XII

THE MANDATES OF YUEH (*first part*)[1]

THE King continued mourning in twilight obscurity for three years, and having laid aside his trappings of woe, he still refused to speak.[2] The numerous Ministers (thereupon) all protested to the King, saying:

A man of knowledge is called an intelligent administrator, and an intelligent administrator is an effective law-giver. The Great One is ruler over ten thousand States, and the one hundred officers venerate his authority.[3] Your Majesty can only effect your commands in speech; but in refusing to speak, your Ministers and subjects are without the means to ascertain your will.

The King then made use of writing[4] to announce (his will), saying:

Since I came to rule over the four quarters (of the country), I have been distressed lest my virtue should not be adequate (to the task).[5] On this account I did not speak, and while I reverently meditated and thought on the right way,[6] I dreamed that the Supreme Ruler conferred on me an excellent Minister, one who might speak for me.[7]

He then minutely described the appearance (of the visionary man), and directed that a portrait (should be drawn) and that a thorough search (should be made) throughout the country; (when it was found that) Yueh, who was employed in the wilderness of Fuh-yen, alone resembled (the portrait).[8]

Thereupon he was appointed to act as Prime Minister, and the King, placing him before his attendants, commanded him, saying: Morning and evening do you communicate instructions in order to aid me in virtue.[9] If I am like metal,[10] I will use you as a grindstone; if I wish to navigate the chief rivers, I will employ you as the boat's oar; if the year is one of great drought, I will use you as a copious rain. Unfold your mind (therefore), and refresh my heart. If physic is not efficacious, the disease will not be assuaged. If when walking barefoot[11] one does not regard the ground, his foot may be wounded.

Be then, in association with your fellow-officers, continually steadfast in regard to the correction of your King, directing him in the course of former rulers, and causing him to follow after our exalted Prince, in order to tranquillise the multitudes of these my people.

Hearken, then, and do you respectfully regard this my decree, for then only will you secure its benefits. Yueh replied to the King, saying: As wood following out the carpenter's line becomes straight, so a prince by following good advice becomes a sage; and when the prince has the capabilities of a sage, his ministers, without being commanded, will acquiesce (in his designs). Who then would dare to refuse reverential assent with the King's august decrees?

NOTES ON SECTION XII

[1] The modern text does not contain this or the two following sections. They are only found in the ancient character.

[2] The King here mentioned is Wu-ting, son of Siaou-Yih, who ascended the throne in B.C. 1322. He is also called Kaou-tsung, "the exalted master." After mourning his father for three years, as required by Court procedure, he remained unaccountably silent, and refused to give any commands to his Ministers, whereupon they remonstrated with him.

[3] "The Great One" (*Ta-tsze*) is a complimentary title of the Emperor.

[4] As will already have been noted, the art of writing was known and practised in China from most ancient times. Tsang-hia first formed the symbols or hieroglyphs from which the modern characters are derived. The Chinese were possessed of a considerable literature at least fifteen hundred years before the dawn of civilisation in England, and a thousand years before the founding of Rome. We are but now only beginning to appreciate the moral and philosophical excellence of this literature.

[5] This passage affords an interesting example of the careful manner in which the ancient rulers of China assumed the responsibilities of rulership. Wu-ting was careful in the beginning, and refused to give orders to his Ministers until he was certain of his fitness to govern and of his ability to carry out the will of Heaven, lest a word spoken too soon might involve the welfare of his people.

[6] The text here employs the word *Tao*, which is loosely translated "the right way." The *Tao* was a body of doctrine, of very ancient enunciation, said to have been communicated to mankind by Fuh-hi, and cherished by his descendants Hoang-ti, Chuen-hio, Chi, Yaou, and Shun. Fuh-hi was the divine ancestor of the Yellow Emperor, and flourished about B.C. 3200. It is extremely probable that the doctrine of the *Tao* had already been committed to writing at the period of this narrative, and it may be that Wu-ting pondered over it while mourning his father at the Gate of Sorrow. The principles of the Eightfold Path were embodied in the "Great Plan," and were found by Yu in the process of draining the Lo River, when the book containing this plan was called the Lo Book (*Lo-Shu*).

[7] "Dreaming" in the Chinese is conveyed by a combination of the thirty-fourth and one hundred and forty-sixth Radicals, *chi*, to follow, and *si*, a shadow. Hence "to follow the shadow."

[8] The "family colouring" or appearance of the visionary man having been circulated through the country, it was

found that Yueh, an artisan engaged among a gang of labourers in constructing a dam at Fuh-yen, tallied with the portrait. He was a man of native wisdom, deep piety, and singular virtue.

[9] It may be supposed that Yueh, being interrogated by the Emperor, gave evidence of his knowledge of the *Tao* in that simple philosophy peculiar to certain unsophisticated souls in whom the heart is pure and the mind vigorous. It is also certain that the Emperor recognised the man of his dreams.

The expression "his attendants" employs the words "left" and "right," which are derived from the roots *Kang* and *Kin*, the *doer* and the *speaker*. These were the Chief Counsellors and Officers of State who stood upon the right and left hand of the Emperor on State occasions. They were respectively "the mouthpiece" and the "hand" of the Empire.

[10] Literally, *kin*, *i.e.*, gold, which as the chief of metals, and essentially the royal metal, stands for all others. The use of the "grindstone for sharpening" suggests in this instance a steel or iron instrument too blunt for effective use, as might be said of the Sword of State in many ineffective governments.

[11] "Walking barefoot" is literally ancient walking, or walking as in former times, from which we may infer the use of sandals or shoes as customary in Wu-ting's days. Tanned hide and leather is mentioned as a tribute as early as B.C. 2200, and Tsae-Chin mentions the spiked shoes for mountain-climbing used by Ta-Yu in the course of his great survey (Book I., Section V.).

SECTION XIII

THE MANDATES OF YUEH (*continued*)

YUEH was commanded to be general overseer of the one hundred officers. He therefore went to the King and said :

Verily ! an intelligent King submissively conforms to the way of Heaven [1] in establishing the country, fixing his capital, commissioning the chief rulers and their dependent Princes, in addition to the great officers and various chiefs, not solely for the sake of his own convenience and dignity, but also for the controlling of the people. Heaven alone is thoroughly intelligent, but a wise ruler can attempt its pourtrayal ; in which case the Ministers will be respectfully compliant, and the people will follow the government.[2]

Speech can involve one in disgrace, and weapons can produce war ; and just as the robes of office should remain in a chest (until required), so the sword of justice (should only be unsheathed) after a close examination of the offender.[3] Your Majesty should be careful and sincere in these matters, and with capable intelligence you will invariably excel.[4]

The adjustment of irregularities rests with those in office, and officers who do not extend partiality to their own families are alone to be depended upon ; and those of the nobility who do not indulge in vice are alone fit to be Ministers.[5]

Study that which is good in order to influence (others),

and also try to influence them at the right time.[6] Holding himself good, one loses his goodness; esteeming himself capable, one is bereft of his merit. Only when thoroughly attentive to business is he fully prepared; and only when fully prepared is he not confounded.

Do not open the doors to favouritism, and so incur disrespect; do not esteem yourself highly, and so commit a folly. Only that in which one abides contentedly is his proper business, and that alone will prosper.

For one who is defiled to offer a sacrifice must be accounted a lack of veneration; also when ceremonies are irksome there will be confusion, and the service of the gods will be difficult in consequence.[7]

The King replied: Excellent, O Yueh! Your advice must be respected. Had you not gone so far as to instruct me, I should never have heard anything to put into action.

Yueh bowed low and bent his head, saying: It is not the knowledge of a thing, but the doing of it that is difficult. If your Majesty can receive this, there will be no more difficulty in sincerely co-operating with former kings in perfecting virtue. Only, had Yueh not spoken, he would have been the most defective (of Ministers).[8]

NOTES ON SECTION XIII

[1] The *Tien Tao* is philosophically understood to embody the doctrine of "Heaven's Way" in regard to mankind, or what is called Divine Providence. The word *Tao* may be variously rendered: First Cause (*Primum Mobile*); *Verbum*, *Logos*; the Way; the Doctrine; or Method, according to the context. Here it appears to mean Heaven's will as expressed in natural law and human polity.

[2] Heaven is witness of all things, is alive to the needs of all, and therefore alone is just. A wise ruler may endeavour to imitate Heaven's justice and intelligence by alertness, efficiency, and equity. Ministers will then be equally dis-

posed to imitate the King, and the people will follow the Ministry.

[3] Speech should rightly dignify a man, but its improper use will bring dishonour. Weapons should protect a man, but their free use will lead to quarrels and vendettas. Robes of honour are used for distinction, but they should only be conferred upon the virtuous. The sword of justice should be used against offenders, but only after complete proof of guilt.

[4] The use of words in the enacting of laws, the use of weapons in the maintaining of them, the use of robes in conferring awards of merit, and the use of the sword of justice in punishing offences, should be carried out with discretion, and a good government will be the result.

[5] Ministers of State must be capable of perfect impartiality before they can govern the people. If they are guilty of irregularities, they cannot expect to correct similar evil in those beneath them. Virtue is therefore an essential quality of a good Minister.

[6] It is not enough to study what to do for the good of others, nor yet enough to know how to do it. One must also learn to be timely and opportune. Good seed, good soil, and a good season are all essential to a good harvest. None can be neglected. They are "the three considerations" of every successful work.

[7] Certain persons are unfit to officiate in religious services; and some, otherwise fit, may officiate too much. Proper respect for religious ceremonies is the first requisite, and moderation in their practice is the next.

[8] While doing reverence to the King, Yueh mentions himself by name as if referring to one who is the absent subject of critical consideration. He adopts this manner of self-disparagement out of respect to the King and his own virtue.

SECTION XIV

THE MANDATES OF YUEH (*concluded*)

THE King said: Come you, Yueh. I, the little child, formerly gave myself to Kan-puon, after which I retired to the waste wilderness, and there entered a town on the Yellow River. From the Ho I hied to the city of Po, and withal the result is that I am not distinguished.[1] But do you be instructive to my mind, as in making good wine you might be the ferment of sugar, or in making an agreeable soup[2] you might be the salt and the prunes. Do you in your teaching try to embellish me, and do not (in any case) abandon me. I shall then be capable of fulfilling your instructions.

Yueh replied: O King! men seek to extend their information, that their affairs may be established. But do you apply yourself to the ancient traditions, and you will meet with success. For a man of affairs not to master the ancient (methods), and yet to be capable of perpetuating his generations, is a thing of which Yueh never yet heard![3]

Be studious of humble intentions, and try to maintain timely efforts, and embellishment will come to you (of itself). Sincerely reflect on this, and virtue will accumulate in your person.[4] To be instructive (to others) is the chief means of study. Consider, then, the end and aim (of study) while you are regularly engaged in it. Thus your virtue will be embellished without your being aware of it.[5]

Give due consideration to former Kings as perfect examples,

and reflect upon their perfect integrity. Then I, Yueh, shall be able to pay due reverence, and everywhere can ask for reliable and gifted men for appointment to the various offices.[6]

The King said: Verily, Yueh! If they within the Four Seas should all respect my virtue, it will be due to your wise counsel. Legs and arms (are necessary) to a man, and trusty Ministers (are indispensable) to a wise ruler. It is reported that the former administrator and judge who served my predecessor said: "If I cannot make the Prince as were Yaou and Shun in their minds, I shall be as troubled as though I had been beaten in public." If a single subject did not get his rights, he would say: "Again, it is my fault!"[7] He thus aided my illustrious ancestor in attaining to high Heaven. Do you in like manner intelligently assist me not to permit the Great Administrator to usurp all the good qualities attributed to the Shang dynasty.[8] As a Prince without capable Ministers cannot govern (the country), so even good Ministers without a chief cannot consort. May you ably continue to imitate the former King's continual pacification of the people.

Yueh bent low and bowed his head, saying: I will endeavour to realise (your Majesty's) wishes, and illustrate the Son of Heaven's excellent decrees.[9]

NOTES ON SECTION XIV

[1] It is stated that Wu-ting had for Prime Minister one named Kan-puon, to whom the Officers of State were accountable during the three years of his mourning. What became of Kan-puon after Fuh-Yueh became Premier does not appear in the text.

[2] The ancient use of wine is recorded here and in other Oriental writings. It appears in the Chinese history that, previous to the time of Ta-yu (B.C. 2203), the people drank sweet wine and fermented mare's milk (a species of Koumiss). But in the days of Yu, E-teih invented intoxi-

cating liquor, and when the Emperor tasted it he found it very pleasant. He thereupon banished E-teih, without disgrace, for the welfare of his people, saying: In future ages this thing will be the ruin of some of my countrymen (see Book IV., Section XII.). The concocting of soup with prunes is an unexpected and curious piece of intelligence. This method is still very much favoured in Denmark and other parts of Europe.

[3] It is not only necessary that a ruler should have a full knowledge of current events, but also that he should study the history of his country, so that he may know what was done in the past by those who were successful. The precepts of Yaou, Shun, and the great Yu probably constituted the ancient traditions to which Yueh referred.

[4] Not to aim too high, and always to act at the right time, are means of self-improvement conducive to humility of spirit and industry. The incessant striving after virtues, as if they were things apart from oneself, the thought of attributes which are only abstract in name, is responsible for lack of realisation and attainment. Yueh suggests that the mind should be allowed to engage only in the duties of everyday life, and all the attributes of the mind and heart will then spring spontaneously into activity within us. This seems an easier thing than "looking for light," "seeking after grace," and some other projects in which the mind and soul of man are continually engaged. (Cf. *Tao-teh-king*, Chapter XLVII.).

[5] In the endeavour to impart instruction to others, one is sure to gain knowledge for himself, since he cannot give to others what he does not himself possess. Thus, unconsciously, he employs the means while having only the end in view. This is the perfection of virtue which arises from use.

[6] Only when a King is worthy of reverence as a capable and virtuous ruler can a Minister expect to enlist the services of reliable and gifted men as Officers of State; for where virtue is lacking it is not met with virtue, and where ability is lacking it does not meet with respect.

[7] This refers to E-yun, the wise and accomplished Minister of Ching-T'ang. The phrase "I shall be as troubled as though I had been beaten in public" is literally: "I shall be as *imp-infested*," etc., a common expression for shame and trouble.

[8] "High Heaven" means the imitation of divine methods as illustrated by celestial and natural laws. "The Great Administrator" refers to Ching-T'ang, the founder of the dynasty, whom Wu-ting aspired to emulate.

[9] The expression "your Majesty's wishes" is inserted for the purpose of distinguishing between the personal wishes of the King and the excellent decrees of "the Son of Heaven," as the Emperor is honorifically called.

SECTION XV

THE DAILY SACRIFICE OF KAOU-TSUNG[1]

WHILE Kaou-tsung was performing the daily sacrifice, there came (to him) a crowing wild-fowl.[2] Tsu-ki (his Minister) said: It is of first importance to admonish the King, and then to straighten out the affairs of the State.

He therefore gave counsel to the King, saying: Although Heaven judges the inferior people, and according to their handiwork determines to them either long life or short, it is not that Heaven would destroy the people, but the people themselves who halfway cut off their own lives.[3]

Now the people having neither complied with virtue, nor acknowledged their transgressions, Heaven has already (uttered) a certain decree to correct their methods; and you say: What concern is that of ours?[4]

Assuredly! When the King duly respects (the welfare of) the people, there will invariably be a celestial continuation, and regular sacrificing would not be abundant only in the ancestral temple.[5]

NOTES ON SECTION XV

[1] This section is contained in both the ancient and modern texts.

[2] This incident is recorded in the *Review of Chinese History*. It is said that the King was given to continual

ceremonies in the ancestral temple, being of a highly superstitious mind. The people were consequently neglected, and in token of disapproval from Heaven a wild-fowl settled upon the tripod while the King was sacrificing, and raised a discordant noise as if to mock the invocations of the Emperor. This gave occasion for the Minister Tsu-ki to reprimand the King for his neglect of the people.

[3] It is here stated that the pleasure or displeasure of Heaven does not rest upon assumed virtue which finds expression in continual sacrifices and religious ceremonies, but solely upon the handiwork and actions of a man. It is said that Kaou-tsung had been supplicating for long life, and the Minister therefore indicates that right action and right thought is the means of long life rather than continuous praying for it.

[4] "Heaven has already uttered a certain decree" evidently refers to the omen of the wild-fowl, which was regarded as a sign of Heaven's displeasure. "What concern is that of ours?" is intended to show that the King regarded the incident lightly. Tsu-ki therefore wishes to impress the King with its importance.

[5] "The celestial continuation" refers to the stability of the Shang dynasty, which was threatened by the indifference of the King to the people's needs. If the King had duly respected them, there would have been regular sacrifices everywhere, and not merely those offered by the ruler to his own ancestors.

SECTION XVI

THE WESTERN LORD'S CONQUEST OF LI

THE Western Lord having conquered Li,[1] Tsu-E, in agitation hastened to announce it to the King, saying:

O Heaven's son! Heaven having proscribed our Yin dynasty's decree, the influential men and chief diviners do not dare to predicate success. It is not because former Kings have failed to regard us, their people; it is that your Majesty, by dissipation and improper conduct, has brought about your own punishment.[2]

Therefore Heaven has rejected us, and we have no more happy gatherings, no longer is attention paid to celestial dispositions, and (the people) do not fulfil the appointed regulations.[3]

Now our people invariably pray for the end (of the dynasty), saying:

O Heaven, why dost thou not send down affliction? Why does thy great decree not come to pass? For now the King is not in accord with us.[4]

The King replied, saying:

O, indeed! but my life, is not its continuance dependent on Heaven?[5]

Tsu-E withdrew, saying: Alas! but your misdeeds are everywhere displayed on high, and yet you affect to refer your decree to Heaven! When Yin's power comes to an end, people will point to the work of your hands, and you will not escape the condemnation of your country!

NOTES ON SECTION XVI

The incident recorded in this chapter belongs to the reign of the tyrannical and dissolute monarch Chow-Sin, son of Ti-yih. Between Kaou-tsung (Wu-Ting) of the previous section and Chow-Sin, there were seven Emperors of the Shang dynasty, namely:

Tsu-kang, Tsu-kia, Lin-Sin, Kang-ting, Wu-yih, T'ai-ting, and Ti-yih. Chow-Sin ascended in B.C. 1152. The conquest of Li took place in B.C. 1122.

[1] The Western Lord was Wu-wang, who succeeded his father Chang or Wan-wang in B.C. 1132 as Duke of Chow (the Western Territory). Wu-wang, otherwise known as Fâ, was the second son of Wan-wang, having been born in B.C. 1166. His elder brother Pih-yih-kaou died when young. Beside these there were eight other sons of Wan-wang.

The people of Li were rebellious against Chow-Sin. They said: "He must perish. It is Heaven's decree!" Wu-wang answered: "What do you know of Heaven's decree? Pacify yourselves!" Subsequently he had to reduce Li to a condition of outward loyalty.

[2] Tsu-E, hearing of the conquest of Li by the Duke of Chow, and knowing of the defection of the Princes of Yin, who now inclined to the Western Lord, went to the Emperor and informed him of the threatened downfall of the Shang dynasty. It was not that their spiritual ancestors had abandoned their descendants, of whose welfare they were now more than ever mindful, but that the Emperor, by his dalliance, tyranny, and faulty administration, had himself hastened the end of the dynasty. This would bring its punishment upon the people, and they in turn would anathematise the name of Chow-Sin.

[3] The expression "happy gatherings" refers to social and festive functions which were arrested by internal feuds and official tyranny. The word *Tsan* literally means a meal, but is frequently used to denote functions of a social nature

at which no meals are partaken of, and is even applied to indicate general concord; as in the fourteenth section of this book the sentence, *Wei chin fi kiun puh tsan*, the meaning is evidently: Without a Prince ministers cannot consort, *i.e.*, they are not co-ordinated, as the limbs of a body without a head.

[4] "Thy great decree" refers to the ending of the dynasty under which the people of Yin were impatiently suffering from the tyranny of its last representative.

[5] The Emperor, in using the expression, "Is not the continuance of my life dependent on Heaven?" meant, no doubt, that the sufferings of his people had no primary relation to the length of his reign, which depended solely on the will of Heaven—on a Deity he neither believed in nor worshipped! This, while perhaps strictly true, was a direct disclaimer of the established maxim: *Ming chi sin Tien chi ling*, *i.e.*, "The people's heart is Heaven's decree," or *Vox populi vox Dei*. It could only serve to incense the people against Chow-Sin.

SECTION XVII

THE LORD OF WEI

The Wei ruler[1] made an announcement, saying; Senior and junior Instructors! The Yin dynasty cannot, apparently, in the midst of so much confusion, correct the surrounding regions. Our great ancestor was thoroughly efficient, and he was directed and appointed from on high. But we have been absorbed and intoxicated with wine, and have brought about confusion and subverted the principles of virtue in these degenerate times.[2]

The Yin people without exception, both small and great, are given to robbery and violence and villainous plots. Their nobility lead each other into unlawful actions, and they who have done wickedly are not openly arrested; (so that) the lower ranks are incited in like manner to be rebellious.[3]

Now the Yin dynasty, in its submersion and decay, resembles one crossing a great river without bridge or ford. Yin's fall is even now at hand. He continued: Senior and junior Instructors! We ourselves have shown extreme foolishness, so that the elders of our House have betaken themselves to the wilderness. But now you have not pointed out or warned us of the impending ruin! How do you account for that?

The Chief Instructor answered him, saying: My Lord! Heaven in its displeasure being about to send down disaster

to bewilder the Yin country, has disposed (its ruler) to become immersed and intoxicated with wine. He does not fear (that which he ought) to dread, and is opposed to the old and experienced workers, and to those who have been long in office. And now the Yin people steal and deploy the sacred, pure-bred, and well-favoured sacrificial animals, using them secretly, and allowing them to be eaten without (fear of) calamity.[4]

On sending down inspectors to the people of Yin, we find them acting like enemies, making imposts (upon the people), and thus inducing them to become rebellious. This continues without cessation, their crimes uniting together until everyone is impoverished and there is none to inform against them.

The Shang dynasty having now (fallen into) misfortune, I will arise and share its downfall; and if Shang should go down into oblivion, I will never become minister to another. I would advise your Lordship to go forth (from here) and escape away. I, on a former occasion, by wrong advice, injured you; but now if your Lordship does not escape away, one royal House will become extinct. Let each one determine upon (the course which appears right), so that he may justify himself to our former Kings. I personally, do not intend to become a fugitive.[5]

NOTES ON SECTION XVII

[1] The Ruler of Wei was one named Khî, a natural brother of Chow-Sin, the tyrannical Emperor of Yin, the son of Ti-yih by his concubine. He was a good man, and his royal father wished him to succeed to the throne, and this was favoured by Tsu-E. But it was contended that as Chow-Sin was a son born of the Empress, it would not do to supplant him by Khî who was born while that Empress was the King's concubine. Therefore Chow-Sin became Emperor after Ti-yih, and believing Khî to be dangerous to his throne, was very bitter against him.

[2] Wei-tze was sincerely distressed on account of the people's sufferings and the impending downfall of Shang. His consultation with the Ministers of Instruction Kî-tze and Pî-kan is here recorded.

[3] Chow-Sin's desperate and tyrannical rule was not calculated to inspire his Ministers with righteous motives, or merciful and just methods of government. They plundered the people, and in turn the people plundered one another, until the whole country was in a state of confusion and wholesale corruption.

[4] Kî-tze, in describing the cause of the country's downfall, shows the decline to have been caused by the Emperor's wickedness, and that the people must needs suffer through his misdeeds. It was not possible for the Emperor to incur the displeasure of Heaven without involving the whole nation.

[5] Kî-tze, in electing to stand by the Emperor and the Yin dynasty, advises his Lord to fly the country; and as to others, suggests that each should do his duty, so that hereafter they might stand unabashed in the presence of the divine ancestors of the Shang hierarchy. The occasion on which he formerly hurt Wei-tze was when he urged his nomination to succeed Ti-yih. Eventually Wei-tze escaped away to Chow (the Western Territory), and Kî-tze was seized and imprisoned by the Emperor, and was only released to become a menial when he feigned insanity. Pî-kan resisted Chow-Sin, remonstrating with him at Court, whereupon the tyrant said: "I have heard that a sage's heart has nine apertures. Cut open this Pî-kan and let us see!" Shortly afterwards Wu-wang, the Duke of Chow, attacked the Emperor, and the dynasty of Shang (Yin) came to an end.

BOOK IV

THE BOOK OF CHOW—PART I

SECTION I

THE EVERLASTING OATH [1]

In the thirteenth year, in the spring, there was a great assembly at Mang-tsin,[2] (whereat) the King said:

O my friendly states and high officials! It falls to my lot to renew the affairs (of State). Warriors all, intelligently attend therefore to my oath.

Heaven and Earth are of all things the parents,[3] and men are of all things the most intelligent; and while those of true intelligence become chief rulers, the Chief of Rulers becomes the parent of the people. Now Show, the Ruler of Shang, was disrespectful towards high Heaven, and brought down disasters upon the lower people.[4] Becoming immersed in wine and addicted to lust, he presumed (to exercise) tyranny and oppression; offenders were allowed to involve their relatives; and offices became hereditary; his sole consideration being of palaces and mansions, of colonnades and groves, moats and lakes and gaudy apparel, so that hurt and privation (came) to you, the numerous progenitors. He burned and flayed the just and pious, slew and lacerated women with child, so that Supreme Heaven was righteously incensed, and ordained my accomplished predecessor [5] to reverently sustain the celestial dignity. But his great career was incomplete.[6]

Therefore I, the insignificant one, Fa, by means of you friendly states and high officials, have represented his rectitude to Shang. But Show has not any disposition to reform. He dwells in idleness, neglecting his duty to the Supreme Ruler and to the gods and demons. Neither does he go up to the temple of his ancestors, nor sacrifice to them; the sacred animals and meat-offerings being disposed of by rogues and thieves! Yet he says: "I hold the people, and I possess the decree," without curbing his pride.

Heaven, compassioning the lower people, set forth their officers and appointed to them instructors, so that they could assist the Supreme Ruler to cherish and pacify the people in every quarter (of the Empire); and we, whether guilty or innocent, how can we oppose the (Supreme Ruler's) will?

Strength being equal, let us measure virtue; virtue being equal, let us appeal to justice.[7]

Show has innumerable agents who are of as many minds. I have attendants (to the number of) three thousand, who are all of one mind. Shang's sins are conspicuous and widespread, and Heaven's decree is to reduce him; and if I do not regard Heaven, my own sin will be equal to his. I, the insignificant one, by day and night, am stirred with apprehension, and having received the decree from my accomplished predecessor, I have sacrificed to the Supreme Ruler and made offerings to the gods of the land, so that with you I have multitudes to fulfil Heaven's infliction.[8] Heaven is merciful to the people; and the people's desire is what Heaven wills to bring about to them. Do you therefore aid me, a solitary man, lastingly to cleanse the Four Seas. Now is the time, and it should not be lost.[9]

NOTES ON SECTION I

[1] This section is not included in the modern text, but is written in the ancient characters, and forms part of the original work. The record of Wu-wang's oath was made

on the occasion of his crossing the Yellow River to demolish the tyrant Show (*i.e.*, Chow-Sin). Wu-wang (*i.e.*, Fa) was the Lord of Chow, the Western Territory. On account of Show's oppression eight hundred barons deserted him and allied themselves to Fa, the Lord of Chow. The swearing-in of the troops was preceded by an indictment of Show and a declaration of war which is here recorded.

[2] Mang-tsin was a ferry on the Hoang-Ho, about lat. 32° N. and long. 4° W. of Pekin.

[3] Literally, "father and mother." In this sense Heaven is the father of humanity and Earth is the mother. The idea is common to all nations.

[4] The use of Show to designate the Emperor shows that he was no longer venerated as the father of the people. He is variously referred to as Chow, Sin, Chow-Sin, Sin-Chow, and Show.

[5] This refers to Chang or Wan-wang, the previous ruler of Chow, and the father of Wu-wang.

[6] This means that Wan-wang died before the work of reform was completed.

[7] This proverbial challenge is used by all wrestlers and contending parties. "Virtue being equal, let us appeal to justice" means, let us finally appeal to the justice of our claims.

[8] Wu-wang, having appealed to his ancestors and the presiding spirits of the land, felt that he was sustained by a host of forces, including the three thousand barons and officers.

[9] "The Four Seas" means the whole country, which had become perverted under the tyranny of Chow-Sin.

SECTION II

THE EVERLASTING OATH (*continued*)

On the fifty-fifth day of the cycle (B.C. 1120) the King halted on the northern bank of the Yellow River,[1] with the host of nobles and their attendants, who were drawn up together; when his Majesty reviewed the troops and proclaimed the oath, saying:

O multitude of the Western Territory, do you all give ear to my words. I have heard it said that just men in the doing of good find their days insufficient, and that wicked men in the working of evil also find the day too short. Now, Shang's ruler, Show, strenuously practises unjust things; banishing and deposing the old and venerable, consorting with wicked men, revelling in drink, and therefore indulging in oppression. His subjects are affected by him to conspiracies and feuds, depending on his example to ruin one another, the innocent calling upon Heaven, and those of iniquitous methods being popularly heard.

But Heaven has regard to the people, and the true sovereign reveres Heaven.

When Hia Kieh was unable to comply with Heaven, and diffused the contagion through the lower countries, Heaven directed the accomplished Tang to go down and obliterate the Hia command.[2]

Now Show's crimes exceed those of Kieh, for he degraded and afflicted the most honest of men; he injured and oppressed the Chief Counsel's assistant,[3] saying that he him-

self held the decree of Heaven; also, that respect need not be observed; further, that devotions were not of any avail; and finally, that afflictions did not injure anyone.

The mirror is not far off, and is found in the case of Hia's King.[4] Heaven has now made use of me to govern the people, and my vision, coinciding with my divination, is a confirmation of the excellent omen that in our attack on Shang we shall succeed.[5]

Show has countless masses of indifferent men of diverse minds and uncertain principles; while I have of various followers ten men of the same mind and of the same principles, and although he may have some who are very near to us, they are not as my benevolent men.[6]

Heaven's views (may be known) from our people's views, and Heaven's decision from our people's decision.[7] The hundred generations have put the blame on me, a solitary man, and now, therefore, I must set out.[8] My operations being commenced, I shall penetrate into his territories and seize upon the wicked tyrant. My assaults will be prolonged and equal in glory to those of Tang.

Be assiduous, my braves! not, however, without fear; but rather believing that we cannot match him. His troops are filled with anxiety, as though already their branches were lopped. Oh! with a united effort and a single purpose, do you then establish your merit and extend it to future generations!

NOTES ON SECTION II

[1] Chinese history says this event took place on the sixtieth day of the cycle, and on the next day the King gave the order to attack. The text here says the fifty-fifth day. This needs a little study. The cycles of sixty years each began on the 5th February B.C. 2696. The cycle of sixty *days* each began at the same time, at a conjunction of the sun and moon. The ancient antediluvian year consisted of 360 days, or twelve months of thirty days each. But this was in some parts corrected by Yaou, who announced the complete

year to be 366 days. In this connection it should be remembered that in those days the relations of the sun and Earth were not precisely what they are now, and that the estimate of 366 d. was actually nearer the truth than 365 d. However, taking the length of the year as 366 days, it will be seen that the cycle of days will recommence with the year after a period of 3660 days, or ten years. Consequently, any year of the cycle which is a multiple of ten will recommence the cycle of days on the first day of the year. Now, the point of time referred to in the text is the seventeenth year of the twenty-seventh cycle. But as twenty-six cycles = 1560 years, the twenty-seventh cycle would begin with the first of the cycle of days; as will also the eleventh year of the twenty-seventh cycle; and the seventeenth year will commence with thirty-six days of the sixty already elapsed; so that the "fifty-fifth day" of the text here referred to will be the nineteenth day of the first month. Now Chinese history says it was "in the *second* month, on the sixtieth day of the cycle," that Wu-wang halted on the borders of Shang. This would be five days later, namely, the 8th April B.C. 1120.

[2] This refers to the overthrow of Kieh, the last of the Hia dynasty.

[3] Pî-kan, the assistant of Kî-tze, was junior Minister of Instruction, and met his death through reproving Show for his wickedness and tyranny.

[4] "The mirror" means, in this case, history as enacted in the career of the last of the preceding dynasty.

[5] Evidently Wu-wang had carefully considered the importance of his taking over the government of the country; and had received confirmation of his decree by vision after the usual divinations of the Great Tortoise. The latter would be made in the presence of the "one hundred witnesses" and the vision confirmed it.

[6] The expression "some who are very near to us" appears to refer to certain relatives who adhered to Shang.

[7] The same words were used by Kaou-yaou in his counsels to Shun (Book I., Section. IV.).

[8] The blame on Wu-wang was that he had delayed the attack upon Show so long. He had been previously urged to it by the revolting people of Li, who said that it was Heaven's decree to depose the tyrant. To this Wu-wang (then Lord of Chow, or the Western Territory) replied: "What do you know of Heaven's decree?" and thereupon withdrew his troops from the Shang borders. For at that time the decree had not come to Wu-wang.

SECTION III

THE EVERLASTING OATH (*conclusion*)

On the morrow the King made a grand review of his six legions, and clearly put the oath to his numerous warriors. The King said: O my brave western warriors, Heaven has manifest laws,[1] of the kind which are superlative. But Shang's Ruler, Show, has ignored and scorned the five standard precepts, and being dissolute, indolent, and disrespectful, has cut himself off from Heaven, and incurred the enmity of the people.[2]

He cut off the limbs of who waded through the waters,[3] and cut open the excellent man's heart;[4] and has inflicted punishments to kill and slaughter, diffusing poison and pain (to all within) the Four Seas.

He has honoured and taken counsel with conspirators and renegades, while banishing and degrading his instructors and stewards. He has disregarded and violated the statutes and regulations, imprisoning and enslaving the upright scholar.[5] The oblations of the terrestrial gods have not been celebrated, and the ancestral temples have not been repaired. He has invented devices and cruel tricks in order to please his women.[6] The Supreme Ruler, in his displeasure, has determined to send down instant calamity. Do you all, therefore, strongly aid me, a solitary man, in dutifully executing Heaven's chastisement.

The ancient men had a proverb which says: "He who comforts mine is my prince; he who afflicts mine is my foe."

That abandoned soul, Show, by his great practice of oppression, is thereby your eternal enemy. In planting virtue, we take care to nourish it; and in abolishing vice, we do our best to root it out. Therefore I, the insignificant one,[7] have come forth in order that you numerous warriors may thoroughly exterminate your enemy.

O all you warriors! do you emulate those who go forth with courage and intrepidity, in order to complete the honour of your leader; and your merit being great, you will have abundant reward; but if you do not go forward, you will be publicly degraded.

Yes, indeed! my accomplished predecessor[8] was like the sun and moon, whose resplendent light sheds glory in every direction,[9] and especially in the western region. It is only our State of Chow that can come forth to receive the numerous provinces. If I conquer Show, it will not be due to my military efficiency, but to my accomplished predecessor's guileless (nature). If Show prevails over me, it will not be my accomplished predecessor's fault, but that I, the insignificant one, lack goodness.[10]

NOTES ON SECTION III

[1] Literally, "Heaven possesses manifest Tao." The sense seems to require that *Tao* should be rendered "laws" in this instance, for Wu-wang goes on to indicate how Show, by disregard of these laws, has not only brought down the displeasure of Heaven, but also has incurred the enmity of men.

[2] It is not said that Heaven turned away from Chow-Sin, or withheld any of the advantages to which his predecessors had access for the proper government of the country, but that Show cut himself adrift from Heaven and from his subjects by wilful outrages upon the standards of morality and justice.

[3] It is recorded in Chinese history that Show, seeing some poor folk wading through a stream in midwinter,

commanded that their legs should be cut through, so that he might see what the marrow of their bones was like.

[4] This refers to Pî-kan, the assistant Minister of Instruction (see Notes on Book III., Section XVII.).

[5] "The upright scholar" was Kî-tze, who was imprisoned by Show for daring to instruct him as to his virtue and duty to the people. He feigned madness, and was released from prison and put into slavery.

[6] It is recorded that Show would roast men on a spit, or set them naked to climb a greasy pole beneath which a fire was set, so that eventually they fell back into it. These and other atrocities were enacted in the presence of Ta-ki, Show's concubine, who found amusement in them. Wu-wang calls Show an "abandoned soul," because both gods and men had turned away from him.

[7] Literally, "the little child." This expression, "the insignificant one," was used by all the Rulers when addressing their subjects.

[8] Shang is here referred to.

[9] Literally, "to the four quarters," *yu sze kin.*

[10] The sincerity of the ancient Shin to faith is well displayed in this passage. Wu-wang says that any success which may attend his arms will not be due to his merit, but to the virtue of his predecessor and father, Chang or Wan-Wang; while, should he fail, it would not be Chang's fault, but his own. The ancient Chinese inculcated this faith, which held that man's virtue or vice is operative in the world after his death. It is to be found repeated in the Second Commandment of the Hebrew Decalogue. In this expression of filial piety Wu-wang appears to indicate that he would rather rely for success on the virtues of Wan-wang than upon his own merits, and would wish to ascribe any possible failure to his own lack of merit rather than to any fault in the illustrious ancestor whose aid he had invoked.

SECTION IV

THE OATH AT MUH

On the first day of the cycle, before daybreak, the King advanced as far as the Shang borders in the Muh Desert, and proclaimed the oath.[1] The King's left hand held a yellow hatchet, and his right grasped a white ensign, which he waved aloft, saying: At length, O men of the Western Country![2]

The King said: O my allied States and reputable officers, Controller of Affairs, Minister of Instruction, Minister of War, Minister of Public Works, Squires, Yeomen, and leaders of families, chiefs of thousands and commanders of hundreds; also you men of Yung, Shu, Kiang, Maou, Wei, Lu, Tang, and Po, lift your javelins, present your shields, and raise your barbed spears, for I will declare this oath.[3]

The King said: The ancients had a proverb which says: "A hen does not usually announce the break of day, and a hen's crowing at dawn is ominous to the family." Now Show, the King of Shang, takes the advice of women; he wrongfully disregards the sacrificial ordinances, and improperly ignores the noble (progeny) of his royal father[4] and his younger brother of the same mother, not cultivating them; while rogues and vagabonds from all parts, these are honoured, are advanced, they are his confidants, and are employed by him; they are, in fact, his great men and nobility, who are allowed to work cruelty and affliction

upon the hundred generations by conspiracies and villainies in the Shang capital.[5]

Therefore I, Fa, am here to respectfully carry out Heaven's chastisement. Now in this day's operations you must not exceed six or seven paces; then halt and line up.[6] My brave men, be strong! Do not exceed four or five strokes, (or at most) six or seven thrusts, then halt and line up.[7] Be energetic, my brave men! Emulate untiring ardour. Be like tigers, like panthers, like bears, like hyenas on the borders of Shang.[8] Do not rush upon those who would surrender, so that they may serve in the Western Country.[9] Be strenuous, my brave men! You who are not strenuous will bring ruin upon your own persons.

NOTES ON SECTION IV

[1] Chinese history says the sixtieth day of the cycle. This is accounted for by the fact that "the first day before daybreak" is the same as the sixtieth day after midnight. The days begin at sunrise, and there are sixty days in each cycle.

The Muh Desert was on the western border of Shang.

[2] "At length" implies that the distance traversed had been considerable, and that the army had at length reached their destination on the borders of Shang.

[3] The Chinese historians say that there were eight hundred nobles aiding Wu-wang in his attack on Shang. These were voluntary adherents from Shang who had revolted from Chow-Sin. There were many others from dependent States, and eight of these are mentioned by name. The warrior-king had in all some "three thousand" nobles, and their followers and retainers to put into the field, as said in the first section of this book: *Yu yiu chin san kien*, "I have three thousand attendants." These and their followers and retainers, together with the legions of Wu-wang, numbered in all some 700,000 men.

[4] The two sons of Teh-yih by his concubine were Wei-

tze and his younger brother Chung-yen. Afterwards, when their mother became Empress, she bore Teh-yih, a third son, whom they called Chow-Sin, otherwise known as Show the tyrant. He succeeded his father as legitimate heir to the throne, and treated his brothers with great injustice.

[5] The *pe sang*, or "one hundred generations," means the populace.

[6] Wu-wang gives instruction as to the method of advance upon the enemy, so as to prevent disorderly rushing and loose skirmishing.

[7] These orders were to prevent irregular attack and to husband the strength of his men, for the western army was heavily outnumbered, and depended mainly on united action and endurance for the victory.

[8] Wu-wang compares his men to tigers for fierceness, to panthers for agility, to bears for stolid endurance, and to hyenas for unison of action.

[9] It was well that Wu-wang gave this order, for history records that, when the western troops charged upon the soldiers of Yin, the latter reversed their weapons in token of surrender, being anxious to serve under Wu-wang as captive slaves, rather than remain under Show's tyrannous rule.

SECTION V

THE END OF THE WAR

In the first month [1] on the twenty-ninth day of the cycle, just upon the darkening of the previous moon, and further, on the following day, being the thirtieth day of the cycle, the King, early in the morning, marched from Chow to the attack upon Shang.

He then set forth Shang's iniquities, and announced it to Imperial Heaven and the Empress Earth, and such as were famous among hills and rivers, saying:

I, the descendant of those who possessed the true doctrine,[2] King of Chow, Fa, am commissioned to administer a great correction upon Shang. For Shang's Ruler, Show, does not (follow) the Tao, but grievously oppresses Heaven's creatures, inflicting cruelties upon a long-sufferiug people, and has become the chief of all the vagrants in the kingdom, who swarm (within his courts like fishes) in a pond, or (like wild beasts) in the jungle.

Therefore I, the insignificant one, having the support of benevolent men, presume devoutly to obey the Supreme Ruler by suppressing this confusion of counsel; in which (project) the flowery nation and the outlying tribes without exception yield their obedient compliance.

If you would emulate your gods, you would assist me in restoring the teeming populace, and so avoid the confusion of your deities.

On the fifty-fifth day of the cycle, my troops crossed over Mang Ferry, and on the sixtieth day I drew up upon the borders of Shang to await Heaven's excellent commands. On the first day of the next cycle, before daybreak, Show led out his hosts as (thick as) trees (in a forest), and mustered them in the Muh Desert.[3] But they did not contend with my troops, for the front ranks reversed their javelins and harassed those in the rear, so that they were thrown together. Blood flowed (enough to) float a log. Thus by a single assault at arms the Celestial Empire was considerably settled. Then we dispensed with Shang's government, and ruled by cultivating the old-time method.[4] We threw open Ki-tze's prison, did honour to Pi-kan's grave, and promoted the welfare of Shang's obscure men and poor people. We distributed the wealth of the Stag Gallery, and dispensed the grain at Kiu-Kiaou,[5] with large bounties to all within the Four Seas, and multitudes of the people gladly submitted.

When the fourth moon waxed bright,[6] the King came from Shang as far as Fung, when he arrested warfare and encouraged literature; he sent back the war-horses to the south of the Flowery Mountain, and let loose the oxen in the wilds of the Peach Grove.[7] He then admonished all those who did not submit.

When (the moon) had begun to wane,[8] all the States, with their hereditary chiefs, together with the hundred officers, received the commands of Chow.

On the forty-fourth day of the cycle, he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of Chow, the neighbouring barons and the lords of the provinces vieing with one another to hold the sacrificial vessels; and after three days, on the forty-seventh day of the cycle, there were bonfires to celebrate the great announcement of the end of the war.

The King spoke to this effect:[9] O you host of Princes! The former King[10] settled the country and developed the land (of Chow). Kung-lew was enabled to enhance foregoing operations, until Tai-wang laid the foundation of the royal fortunes, and Wang-kwei advanced the royal house.

Then our accomplished predecessor, Wan-wang, was able to complete his labours, and strictly accorded with the celestial commands, so that he soothed the flowery region. The great States dreaded his power, and the small one esteemed his virtue; and after nine years,[11] the great control being as yet incomplete, I, the insignificant one, undertook to continue his intentions.

Having received Heaven's final decree, I at once marched eastward to pacify the men and women (of Shang), when both men and women brought tribute-baskets of their black and yellow silks, in token that our Kings of Chow were inspired by Heaven's excellent decree, and that they meant to join themselves to our great capital of Chow.[12]

Wu-wang then arranged the nobles into five (degrees of rank),[13] dividing the land into three (allotments).[14] He then appointed officers who were excellent men, and established men of affairs who were capable. He insisted on the people (observing) the five precepts, and being (attentive) to food, mourning, and worship. He was generous to the sincere, he distinguished the righteous, conferred honours on the virtuous, and rewarded merit. Then he spread his robes, folded his hands, and the country was governed.[15]

NOTES ON SECTION V

This chapter is included in the ancient text, but is not found in the book written in the modern characters. Its name, *Wu-ching*, is derived from the chief incident mentioned in the text, the end of the war which overthrew the Shang dynasty.

[1] The first month is not the new year, but the twelfth month of the modern calendar, corresponding to January. It will be remembered that T'ang, when founding the Shang dynasty, effected this alteration. In the text the dates are checked by reference to the days of the cycle. It was after the full moon of January 30th (New Style), B.C. 1120,

that Wu-wang set out from Chow to go to the attack on Shang. This was the twenty-ninth day of the cycle of days in the seventeenth year of the twenty-seventh cycle of years.

[2] Literally, "those who possessed the Tao." Frequent mention is made in the *Shu king* of this ancient system of moral philosophy by which the patriarchal Emperors informed themselves in the principles of right government. By "possessing" the Tao is probably meant the observance of its principle in everyday life. As a definite body of writing, it appears to have been accessible to Lao-tze, the venerable curator of the royal library at Kau, in the seventh century B.C., though its principles had for some time fallen into obscurity. (See *Tao-teh-king.*)

[3] The Muh Desert formed the western border of the Shang territory.

[4] "The old-time method" refers to the *Ku-tao* of Yaou and Shun, whose government was "stern yet gentle, austere but yielding."

[5] History records that Show built the Stag Gallery (*Luh-tae*). It was half a mile in length and a thousand cubits high, its doors and chambers being thickly set with precious stones. It took seven years to build, and taxation was heavily imposed for the purpose of storing this gallery with wealth and the repository of Kiu-kiaou with grain.

[6] This would be at the end of May, B.C. 1120.

[7] Fung was the capital of Chang or Wan-wang, the King's father and predecessor. Here the temples of his ancestors were erected, and here Wu-wang issued his irenicon and made an end of war. The horses and oxen used during the military operations being at that time dedicated to the service of the gods, were sent back to the hills and plains of Hwa-yin.

[8] This was immediately after the full moon at the end of May.

[9] "To this effect" implies that what follows is not a verbatim report of what the King said, but an authorised summary.

[10] This refers to Tan-fuh, who in the year B.C. 1325

removed his centre of government from Pin to Ki, and changed the name of the state to Chow. He was called "the old Duke," and died in B.C. 1229, being over one hundred years of age. His sons were Tai-pih, Chung-yung, and Kwei-li. The latter was born B.C. 1282, and succeeded Tan-fuh soon after the birth of his son Chang in B.C. 1229. Kwei-li lived till B.C. 1183, and was succeeded by his son Chang under the name of Wan-wang, who built the city of Fang on the banks of the river of that name, and also the famous astronomical gallery mentioned by Meng-tsze (Mencius). His son Fa (Wu-wang) was born B.C. 1167, and succeeded his father in B.C. 1133.

[11] "After nine years" refers to the interval from the imprisonment of Wan-Wang to the accession of Wu-Wang. Wan-Wang was never more than the Duke of Chow, but he did much to break down the tyranny of Show, and so end the Shang dynasty. This is what is meant by "the great control being as yet incomplete." Thirteen years later Wan-Wang obtained complete control of the Empire.

[12] At this point the King's speech ends, and the historian completes the chapter.

[13] The "five titles" were: Dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons. These were subsidiary to the Princes of the Empire.

[14] The three grants were one hundred square *li* to a duke or marquis; 70 square *li* to an earl; and 50 square *li* to a viscount or baron. There are about $3\frac{1}{2}$ *li* to an English mile, and a *li* (or Chinese "mile") is therefore about 500 yards.

[15] The King having established peace and prosperity, and openly encouraged industry and virtue in the country, the Empire practically governed itself.

General Note.—The Dukes of Chow invariably added the title *Wang* (ruler) to their names. Thus we have Wan-wang, "the accomplished King"; Wu-Wang, "the warrior King," etc. The whole of the Chow dynasty is distinguished by this title, which began in the person

of Wu-Wang. Show (Chow-Sin) went mad on being defeated and fled to the Stag Gallery, where he loaded himself with jewels and burned himself to death. The Chow dynasty extends from B.C. 1120 to B.C. 249; but the *Shu king* is only concerned with the history of Chow till B.C. 749. From this point of time the history of the Dukes of Lu is contained in the *Chun-tsiu* of Confucius, and carries the records on to B.C. 481. Since the days of Confucius there has been no lack of historians, and the records of the Empire are continuous and authentic.

N.B.—Sections XI., XII., and XIII. should be read immediately after this fifth section of the Book of Chow, as they follow next in chronological order.

Sections VI., VII., VIII., IX., and X. then complete the book. The modern form does not revise this obvious disorder of the leaves of the old book, and it is therefore preserved in this translation.

SECTION VI

THE GREAT PLAN [1]

At the thirteenth annual sacrifice,[2] the King enquired of Ki-tze, when the King addressed him, saying: Ah, Ki-tze! Heaven has mysteriously favoured the lower people by aiding and conspiring to their establishment. But I do not know how the invariable principles of government were arranged.[3]

Ki-tze thereupon replied, saying: I have heard that, in ancient days, Kwan,[4] in trying to oppose the overwhelming waters, wrongly disposed the five factors, and the (Supreme) Ruler was stirred with anger, and did not communicate to him the great plan of the nine classifications; so that the invariable principles were lost, and Kwan therefore was driven into exile.[5] Yu was then appointed to succeed him, and Heaven conferred on Yu the great plan of the nine classifications, and the invariable principles (of right government) were regulated.

The first of these is called the Five Factors; the second is called a respectful use of the Five Faculties; the third is called an economical use of the Eight Regulators; the fourth is called a harmonious use of the Five Disposers; the fifth is called an established use of the Princely Perfections; the sixth is called a regulated use of the Three Virtues; the seventh is called an intelligent use of the Examination of Doubts; the eighth is called a considerate

use of all the Verifications; the ninth is called a careful use of the Five Blessings and a fearful use of the Six Extremities.[6]

Firstly: Of the Five Factors, the first is water; the second is fire; the third is wood; the fourth is metal; and the fifth is earth. Water is said to drip down; fire is said to blaze up; wood is called crooked or straight; metal is said to be yielding and hard; while the earth displays (its qualities) in that which is sown and reaped. That which drips down becomes salt; that which blazes up becomes insipid; that which is both crooked and straight becomes sour; that which is both yielding and hard becomes acrid; and that which is sown and reaped becomes sweet.[7]

Secondly: Of the Five Faculties, the first is called shaping; the second is called speech; the third is seeing; the fourth is hearing; and the fifth is thinking. Shape is said to produce respect; speech is said (to give) compliance; seeing is said (to give) intelligence; hearing is said (to confer) understanding; and thought is said (to produce) capacity. (Then again) respect (in its turn) produces veneration; compliance produces government; intelligence produces knowledge; understanding produces ability; and capacity produces wisdom.[8]

Thirdly: Of the Eight Regulators, the first is named Controller of Food; the second is named Controller of Prosperity; the third is called the Sacrificer; the fourth is denominated the Controller of Public Works; the fifth is named the Minister of Instruction; the sixth is called the Criminal Judge; the seventh is named the Receiver of Guests; and the eighth is entitled General of the Army.[9]

Fourthly: Of the Five Disposers, the first is called the Year; the second is called the Moon; the third is named the Sun; the fourth is the planetary hour; and the fifth is known as the astronomical dispositions.[10]

Fifthly: Of the Princely Perfections. The Prince should establish the standard of the perfections and accumulate the five blessings, employing them widely for

the benefit of all the people. Then the populace, on account of his perfection, will give protection (which also is) perfect. Whenever the public avoids cabals and men keep from factions, it is because the Prince has attained perfection.

Whenever (any of) the public have ability, influence, and determination, you should on that account bear them in mind. When any are not cordially disposed to perfectability, but yet not involved in crime, the Prince must take them in hand; and on those of tranquil aspect who profess to be enamoured of virtue, do you confer gifts. Then these men will themselves attain to the princely perfection, neither oppressing the poor and lonely, nor dreading the high and illustrious. When men have capacity and dignity, encourage their use and the country will prosper. When the magistrates are well paid, insist on their rectitude; but if you cannot render them comfortable in their own families, these men will in time have recourse to corruption. When, however, they do not love virtue, even though you confer benefits on them, you will only facilitate crime and become their abettor.

To avoid prejudice and injustice, let the royal example be followed; to prevent undue attachments, let the royal doctrine be followed; and to be rid of excessive antipathies, let the royal course be pursued. When factions and prejudices are not rife, the royal path will be exceedingly smooth. When there are no excesses nor corruptions, the royal path will be straight and smooth; while those that have perfection will be compacted together and will convert others to the attainment of perfection.

He continued: The princely perfections being widely inculcated is the invariable principle of (right) instruction, and to the Emperor himself it is instruction. Whenever the populace carry out these widespread instructions, they teach and practise them, so that they approach to the glory of the Son of Heaven. For when it is said that Heaven's Son is the people's parent, it is then that he becomes the ruler of everything under heaven.[11]

Sixthly: Of the Three Virtues, the first is called impartial justice; the second is called rigid rule; and the third is called temperate government. In smooth and tranquil times be strictly just. When people are perverse and unyielding, the rigid rule (must be observed); but when they are well-disposed and compliant, then govern them with gentleness. When they are immersed in errors, rule them with rigour; but when highly enlightened, deal with them very gently. Only the sovereign should confer emoluments; only he should inflict penalties; and the sovereign alone should control the national wealth. The Ministers should have nothing to do with conferring emoluments, inflicting punishments, or dispensing the national revenues. When Ministers confer rewards, inflict penalties, or administer property, they then bring corruption to their families and ruin to their country; and when men (in office) are corrupt, unjust, or covetous, the people will be errant and wilful.

Seventhly: As to the Examination of Doubts. Select and appoint divining-men, and let them command the divinations and prognostics. The divinations are called humidity, fine weather, fogs, broken (weather), and variations; and the prognostics are called self-control and repentance—in all seven; the divinations being five and the prognostics two, of use in discovering errors.

Having appointed suitable men to effect the divinations and prognostics, let three men prognosticate, and then follow any two of these men in their counsel.

Thus, should you have any great doubts, appeal to your own heart and consult your learned nobles; consult also the populace concurrently with the divinations and prognostics. Then, should the Tortoise and the reeds, the nobles and the populace all follow (the same view), this is what is called the Grand Concord. (In such case) your person will be quite secure, and your family to that extent fortunate and happy. Should you assent (to any project), and the Tortoise and the reeds also assent, while the learned nobles and the populace are opposed, it will yet be fortunate.

Should your learned nobles consent with the Tortoise and the reeds, while you and the populace are averse (to the project), it may yet be fortunate.

Should the people, the Tortoise, and the reeds all accord, while you and the learned nobles are opposed, it may still be fortunate.

Should you and the Tortoise assent, while the reeds, the learned nobles, and the populace object, then operations from within will be favourable, but external operations will be adverse.

But when the Tortoise and the reeds unite in opposing the men, self-restraint will be fortunate, for all active measures will be inimical.[12]

Eighthly: In regard to general verifications; namely, rain, fair weather, heat, cold, and wind, all in their season, when these five come fully equipped, each in proper order, all vegetation will flourish. One being excessive is bad, and any one (of them) being deficient is also bad.

These are what are called excellent auguries; for example: respect and timely showers; good government and seasonable fair weather; aptitude and adequate heat; good counsel and timely cold; integrity and seasonable winds.

What are called criminal verifications are: dissipation and incessant rain; error and excessive fine weather; self-indulgence and excessive heat; impulsiveness and extreme cold; stupidity and great tempests.[13]

It is said: Let the King examine himself in regard to the year, the nobles in regard to the month, and the officials in regard to the day. For when the years, months, and days do not fail in their seasons, the hundred sorts of grain will effectively ripen, the government will be intelligent, capable people will be promoted, and family affairs will be smooth and tranquil.

But when the days, months, and years fail in their seasons, the hundred kinds of grain will come short of perfection, the government will be perverted and devoid of intelligence, capable people will work in obscurity, and family affairs will not be temperate.

The populace are, so to speak, like the stars. Certain stars produce wind and others bring rain. The course of the sun and moon indicates winter and summer. The moon's course among the stars indicates the approach of wind and rain.[14]

Ninthly: Of the five blessings, the first is called long life; the second, wealth; the third, tranquillity; the fourth is called love of virtue; and the fifth, foreknowledge of the end of life.

And the six extremities are: firstly, a violent or premature death; secondly, sickness; thirdly, anxiety; fourthly, poverty; fifthly, degeneracy; and the sixth is called wilful iniquity.[15]

NOTES ON SECTION VI

Both the ancient and modern texts include this section, which is in many respects a remarkable one, inasmuch as it embodies a description of some of the ancient principles of government in use during the days of Yaou and Shun.

[1] It is said that when Yu was draining off the Lo River (see "Tribute of Yu," Book II., Section I.) into the Hoang-Ho, he came upon a treatise entitled the "Great Plan." When Wu-wang become Emperor of China, after the conquest of Shang, he enquired of Ki-tze, the former Minister of Instruction, whom he had liberated from the oppression of Show, in regard to the Celestial Way (*Tien Tao*). Thereupon Ki-tze spread the Great Plan before him, and it is presumed to embody the principles of the Tao.

[2] "The thirteenth yearly sacrifice" took place in the spring of B.C. 1120. The years of Wu-wang count from his accession to the Dukedom of Chow in B.C. 1132, and not from the fall of the Shang dynasty on the death of Chow-Sin (Show) in B.C. 1121. The point, which has occasioned debate among commentators, is readily settled by consulting the history of the Chow family during the last century of the Shang dynasty.

[3] In Book III., Section XVII., it is recorded that Ki-tze had determined to share the downfall of his Imperial master Show. Not that he was in accord with Show's tyrannical government, quite the reverse; but he had virtue, and was a faithful servant of even a degenerate master. He registered a vow in the presence of the Lord of Wei that he would not serve another should Shang fall. His appearance in this place therefore appears somewhat unexpected. It is explained by the fact that Wu-wang made a direct appeal to him for a statement of the *Tien Tao*, or method of perfect government. He, as former Minister of Instruction, thereupon spread the Great Plan before Wu-wang, and the Emperor created him Ruler of Korea, where he was not either servant or subject of another.

[4] It is recorded in Chinese history that in the year B.C. 2285 Kwan, the Superintendent of Public Works, after seven years' trial, failed to control the inundations, was dismissed from office, and Yu was appointed in his stead (see Book I., Section I.).

[5] Kwan had previously failed to distinguish himself, and was only known to the Emperor Yaou as one who "failed to obey orders." His appointment to the office of Minister of Public Works was made under advice from the Princes and contrary to Yaou's feelings. His failure was followed by exile as a mark of the Emperor's displeasure. Great honours infer great responsibilities, and the task was not an impossible one.

[6] There are many curious resemblances between the Chinese and Aryan principles. The *Tien Tao*, for instance, supplies a parallel to the "Eightfold Path" of the Esoteric Doctrine, for there were Eight Ways of operation or Eight Principles included in the perfect method of government, and all these conductive to the one central principle of the Princely Perfection. As the chapter proceeds, the points of similarity become more numerous, until one might reasonably suspect a common origin of thought and tradition. And indeed, while ethnological reasons preclude the idea of direct descent of either the Aryan or Mongolian race from

the other, there is every reason to believe that the main features of this system of philosophy were once the property of an allied race geographically related to both India and China. The reader's mind will once again be impelled to reconsider that singular message of Emanuel Swedenborg: "Search for the lost word in Tartary or Thibet."

[7] The five factors (*Wu-hing*) are referred to the five planets: Water to Mercury; Fire to Mars; Wood to Jupiter; Metal to Venus; and Earth to Saturn. Water becomes salt like the sea by dripping down. The common people are called "the salt of the Earth," and are frequently compared to the mass of the ocean waters. The Sea (*Hoy*) is called the "mother-water," and like the populace is said by astrologers to be signified by the moon, which also rules silver as the sun rules gold; a species of natural physiognomy requiring such expressions as "the *silver* sea" and "the *golden* sun."

That which blazes up like fire leaves behind it that which is insipid like charcoal. Fire, like anger, consumes the thing which feeds it. The most aspiring natures cannot indefinitely be fed from material sources. Wood, like justice, may be crooked or straight. It is better straight, for on occasion it may be bent to conformity with our requirements if originally straight; but with a natural bias its usefulness is limited. That which is straight can always be used; that which is crooked, only on occasion and by special selection.

That which is both yielding and hard is useful, because it can be fashioned to a permanent shape, like metal (see "The Counsel of Kaou-yaou," Book I., Section IV.). That which is sown and reaped is sweet as the corn, or as good works, the justice of Heaven, and human example.

[8] Shape is the first quality of the embodied man, and is related to the sense of touch. It is called a faculty, because it is held that the soul shapes the body in utero. It is said to produce respect because all men are compounded of the same elements, and it is only the shape, given to them by the soul within, which inspires respect or regard. Speech

is primarily the means of expressing thought. When thought is fashioned on right principles, it can only assent to the teachings of progenitors, to the principles of government, and to the wishes of others. In polite conversation the Chinese always assent to what has been said before raising an objection. Primarily all life is an assent to divine institutions and laws, and speech is the purely human means of expressing it. Sight produces intelligence on the principle that it corresponds to illumination, and is the supreme means of discrimination in mundane things. The senses may all be deceived in their impressions, but the sense of sight is a final means of evidence. Mental vision gives correct views and produces intelligence. Hearing is a means of understanding and corresponds to it. It is said of the spiritually perverted, "Seeing, they shall not perceive; and hearing, they shall not understand." Here also sight is related to spiritual perception and hearing to the understanding. And because perception must precede understanding, hearing is here regarded as a higher sense or faculty, that is to say, by spiritual correspondence. Thought is said to produce capacity, because it is only by thought that the mind is enlarged and capable of holding wider views of life.

[9] Food and property being the essentials of civic life, are here placed first in order; and after receiving these blessings, the next thing is to give thanks to Heaven, of which the sacrifice is the objective symbol. To do good works, to gain knowledge, to regulate our conduct to the laws of the country, to maintain friendly relations with those of other countries, and to defend the empire—all these follow as duties of the true citizen and patriot. Those appointed to maintain this invariable conduct are called the Eight Regulators. But if a man has attained the Princely Perfection by following the Eightfold Path, he does all these things from himself.

[10] The sun controls the year, the moon controls the month, the planets control the days, and the aspects of all these bodies among themselves are what are called the

"astronomical dispositions." A species of natural astrology was evidently inculcated in the *Tao*.

[11] The many duties of the sovereign in regard to his subjects, both high and low, are here recited. The Son of Heaven is the title of the Emperor, *i.e.*, *Tien-tze*. He is also called *Min-ki Fuh-muh*, the people's father-mother.

Although the Princely Perfections are the ultimate attainment, they are here placed in the fifth order because of their position in the Great Plan. This will be explained later.

[12] Divination by reeds is of very ancient origin, and is mentioned in the Hebrew Scripture. In the process followed by the Chinese diviners, there were thirty-six reeds or small bamboos, of which there were twelve of ten inches in length and twenty-four of five inches each. These were drawn and arranged according to a plan contained in the Lo Book, and auguries were derived according to the elements of accord and discord revealed by the sortilege. The Tortoise was used by the great Yu, who possessed the Book of the Tao, which embodied the Great Plan. He marked the back of the Great Tortoise with the Nine numbers, which referred to the nine classifications as shown in the figure at the end of this chapter. It will be seen that the arrangement of the numbers exactly corresponds to the Hebrew Talisman of the planet Saturn, which is ruled by the angel "Cassiel," the presiding intelligence of all secret things. It is the "magic square" of the number 15, and the figures being added together in any direction will amount to 15, the total of all the figures from 1 to 9 being 45, or 3 times 15.

In the Lo Book the figures are indicated by small circles joined together by lines. On the head of the Tortoise is the number 9, on the tail 1, on the right shoulder 2, on the left shoulder 4; on the right side 7, on the left side 3, on the centre of back 5; on the right thigh 6, and on the left thigh 8. This arrangement, which appears quite arbitrary, is designed to reproduce the Sigil of Saturn, which is formed by connecting the numbers of the

square in their serial order in groups of three. It is indeed extremely difficult to account for this exactly similar arrangement of both the Hebrew and Chinese figures without supposing that both are derived from some common source. The divinations and prognostics were derived for the purpose of confirming or correcting the opinions of the King, nobility, and people, the prognostics having supreme value in any division of opinion. Thus, the following combinations are suggested by the text, using *plus* sign for an affirmation and *minus* sign for a negative :—

King.	Nobles.	People.	Prognostics.		Result.
			Reeds.	Tortoise.	
+	+	+	+	+	Highly good.
+	−	−	+	+	Fortunate.
−	+	−	+	+	Possibly good.
−	−	+	+	+	Do.
+	−	−	−	+	Internal good. External bad.
+	+	+	−	−	Unfortunate.

From this it would appear that the prognostics are the supreme arbiters, while the Tortoise, together with the King, are related to the inner or spiritual forces of the nation, such as are represented in the religious ceremonies, sacrifices, etc.; and the reeds, together with the nobility and people, represent the external forces of the nation, such as are expressed in war and other active operations. This is shown in the fifth combination, where the reeds and the Tortoise are not in agreement.

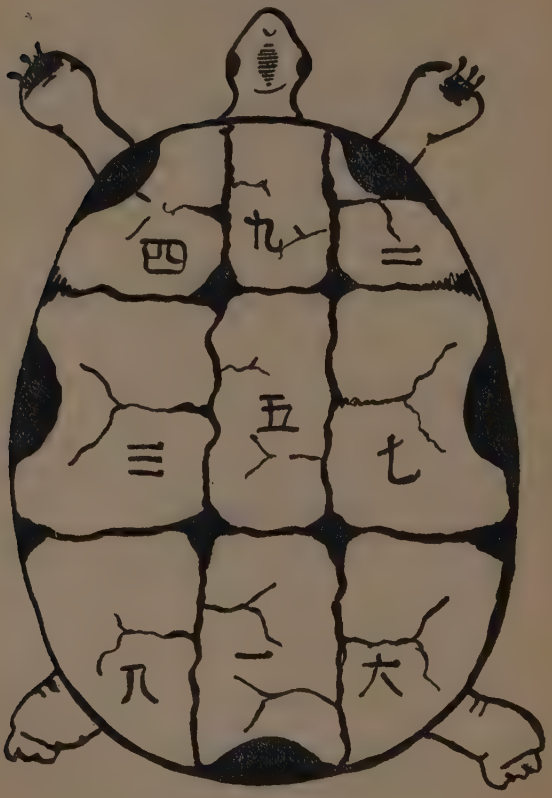
[13] A system of natural correspondence is here suggested. It is an ancient belief that man's environment is in sympathy with his thought and feeling; that the mass-chord of national life has a direct correspondence with atmospheric conditions; and that nature is thus reflective of human psychometry. Those who follow the astrological tenets of

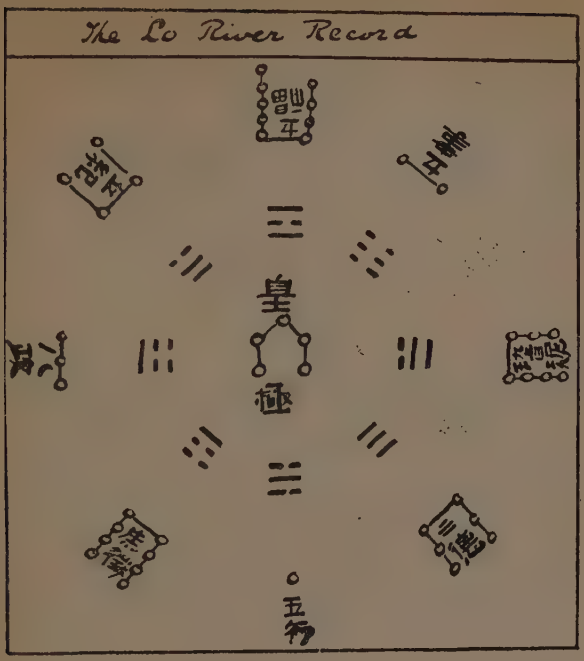
the ancient orient will see from this that the same planetary combinations which act to produce mental states might be held to affect the weather in some similar manner; and just as all persons are not affected in the same way by a single planetary combination, so the countries are not simultaneously affected by the same weather.

[14] The doctrine of correspondence is further pursued in this paragraph, the King corresponding to the year, the nobility to the months, and the officials to the days. In other words, the King is the sun, the nobility the moon, and the officials are the planets. The people are like the stars among which these bodies appear to move as they pursue their apparent orbits. The moon's passage through certain star-groups or constellations is held to produce (or indicate) the approach of wind or rain.

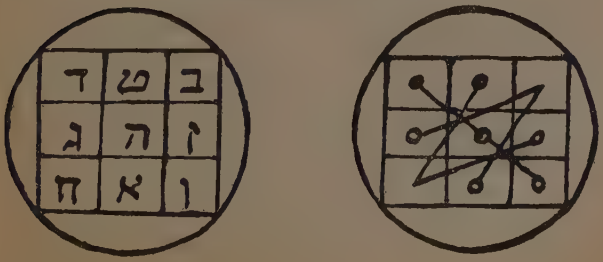
[15] Long life and the foreknowledge of its end are held to be among the great blessings of human existence; while a short life and its unexpected termination are considered equally evil. Claudius Ptolemy says, in his *Tetrabiblos*, that the determination of the length of life is of the first importance, since without this knowledge all other considerations are rendered uncertain. But without the possession of the other blessings, that is to say, financial competence, tranquillity of mind, and love of virtue long life cannot be regarded as a blessing.

The marking of the Great Tortoise.





The Hebrew Talisman of Saturn.



SECTION VII

THE HOUND OF LI [1]

AFTER the settlement of Shang (B.C. 1119) the highways were opened up to the nine foreign peoples and the eight tribes of barbarians, (when) Western Li sent in a tribute of a large hound.[2] Thereupon the Great Guardian composed "The Hound of Li," giving instruction to the King, saying: [3] Truly! An intelligent King being mindful of his principles, foreigners from all quarters approach him with profound respect, no matter whether they be distant or near, presenting the produce of their parts, consisting of clothing, food, and implements for use.[4]

The King then displays the adjuncts of his virtue to the chiefs of the tribes, (to persuade them) not to neglect their duties, and divides the treasures and gems among the rulers of the territories, thereby inducing the unfolding of goodwill; and these men do not despise the offerings, (but esteem them), because they are the products of virtue.

A ruler's virtue being perfect, he does not despise anyone; and if he should insult the rulers, he will fail to draw forth their sympathies; while if he should contemn the humble, he will fail to draw upon their strength.

When a man does not seek to gratify his ears and eyes, all his projects will be well-controlled.

Trifling with men, you lose your virtue; trifling with things, you miss your aim. Let your intentions be guided

by principles of moderation and your words by principles of goodwill. Do not deal with unprofitable things, and do not neglect those that are worthy, and your merit will be perfected.[5]

Do not set value on strange productions, nor belittle those that are useful, and the people will then be advantaged.

Dogs and horses, except in their natural countries, should not be reared. If rare birds and creatures are not bred in the country, and you do not set a false value on foreign products, then strangers will be admonished.

Let that which you esteem be worthiness, and your neighbours will then be at rest.

Yes, indeed! By day and night be careful of neglecting diligence. Do not stint a little work, lest you spoil a great achievement. In making a mound nine fathoms in height, your work may fail for a single basket (of earth). If you sincerely follow this method of living, the people may protect their homes, and you will be their continual ruler.[6]

NOTES ON SECTION VII

[1] This section is only contained in the ancient text. The modern edition does not include it.

[2] Li sent a tribute of a large hound to Wu-wang. It was a curiosity on account of its great size, being four cubits in height, and trained to catch and hold fugitives, like some of the Russian boarhounds.

[3] The Great Guardian (*Tai-pau*) was Shih, the Duke of Shaou. He believed that the introduction of strange things to the tribute would have a pernicious effect upon the foreign princes, inducing them to cultivate abnormalities instead of developing the natural resources of their territories. Hence he wrote an essay admonishing the King not to accept the hound of Western Li.

[4] Shih here recites the proper articles of tribute.

[5] The hound of Li is here compared to the natural products which came as tribute from other parts.

[6] The disastrous effect of a ruler's inordinate desires upon the country had but recently been seen in the fall of Shang, and Shih therefore reminds the King that if the natural resources of the country are neglected, and useful things are made of less account than extravagances, the people will not be able to protect and sustain their homes, and the throne will be in danger. Out of respect for the Emperor he employs the converse argument.

SECTION VIII

THE GOLDEN-EDGED CASKET

HAVING regulated Shang, in the second year the King had a sickness and became melancholy. The two Dukes said: Let us humbly prognosticate in regard to the King's condition.[1]

Chow-kung said: One should not go about to distress our former kings.[2]

Chow-kung therefore took the affair upon himself, and made three altars connected with terraces, and another altar on the south quarter facing the north, where Chow-kung took his stand. And having set up the symbol of good augury, and holding the sceptre of office, he prayed to Tai-wang, Wang-kwei, and Wan-wang.[3]

The historian then recorded the invocation, (in which) he said: Your chief offspring, such an one, has met with a severe and cruel sickness, and on you three Kings depends your great descendant's cause with Heaven, in order that (if one must die, it may be) Tan instead of such an one's person. My benevolence is as that of my forefathers, I am capable of many abilities and many accomplishments, and can serve the demons and gods. But he has received the decree in the Imperial mansion, and extended succour to the four quarters, using his abilities to establish your descendants in the lower world, so that the people of all parts universally hold him in respect. O then! do not let fall the Heaven-

descended decree, so that our former Kings also may perpetually have (someone) to rely upon and return to.[4]

Now I will refer the decree to the Great Tortoise, and if you comply with my request, I will take the gem and the sceptre and return to await your will. But if you do not comply with my petition, I will put aside the gem and sceptrè (as useless).

He then divined by the three Tortoises, and with one consent (they were) auspicious. He opened the lock and examined the Book, and this also was of favourable augury.[5]

The Duke then said: The substance of the matter is that the King is not in danger. I, the little child, having newly received the will of the three Kings, will fully complete this plan. That which I now await is that you may consider the one man of my petition.

The Duke, on retiring, enclosed the form of prayer in the golden-edged casket, and the King on the following day recovered.[6]

When (five years later) Wu-wang died, Kwan-shuh and his younger brothers circulated statements throughout the country, saying that the Duke would be seriously injurious to the young King. Chow-kung then informed the two Dukes, saying: If I do not retire, I shall not be able to announce myself to the late King.

Chow-kung (therefore went) to dwell in the east for two years, and in due course the culpable men were discovered. On this the Duke made an ode for presentation to the King, everyone giving it the name of The Owl. The King, moreover, did not presume to blame the Duke.[7]

In the autumn, at the time of the great harvest, before it was reaped, Heaven (sent a storm) of great thunder and lightning and a hurricane, so that the grain was all beaten down and great trees were rooted up. The people of the country became greatly affrighted, and the King with his high officials all hurried to disclose the records of the golden-edged casket, when they discovered the account of how Chow-kung had prayed to take the responsibility on himself as a substitute for Wu-wang. The two Dukes and

the King then enquired for confirmation of the historian and the one hundred priests, who replied, saying: It is indeed true that the Duke obtained this decree, but we did not dare to speak of it.

The King, holding the record, was moved to tears, and said: It is useless to divine further. It is well known that the Duke was diligently zealous for the royal house, and I alone, the insignificant one, was not aware of it. Now Heaven has exercised its punishment in order to illustrate Chow-kung's virtue. But I, the insignificant one, will go out to meet him. In our country family ceremony also requires this.

The King went forth to the border, when Heaven sent some rain and changed the wind, so that the grain thereupon all sprang up again. The two Dukes commanded the people of the country, wherever the large trees had fallen down, to raise them and pile them together, and the harvest thereafter was very productive.[8]

NOTES ON SECTION VIII

[1] The King's illness was in B.C. 1119. The nature of the illness is not recorded. The two Dukes were Tai-kung and Chaou-kung, brothers of the King. They wished to make a public ceremony on account of Wu-Wang's illness.

[2] Chow-kung, the Duke of Chow, whose name was Tan, was averse to a public ceremony, and decided to take the matter in hand for himself and to conduct it privately.

[3] These were the former Dukes and Rulers of Chow.

[4] The historian (*Szu*) here referred to was the official employed for the keeping of records in the ancestral temple of Chow. Tan represented to his spiritual ancestors that, inasmuch as the celestial decree had fallen into the hands of Wu-Wang, he was their proper representative on earth, and by his virtuous rule had everywhere secured the veneration of the good and the dread of the wicked, both in Shang and in Chow. Therefore he should be allowed to continue

his beneficent reign. But if one of the royal house was required to die, he prayed that he might be taken, as of less use than the King in temporal matters, and fully prepared to serve the gods. It was also essential that the direct succession of the Chow family should continue, in order that the spirits of the ancestors might have "someone to return to." This latter statement reveals a complete representation of the doctrine of spiritual hierarchies in the ancient Chinese succession. So long as the direct line of succession was maintained, it was held that there was open communication between Heaven and mankind through the line of ancestors, and the reigning King held the divine decree and was therefore called the Son of Heaven. But if this succession were broken, the open communication ceased, and the decree passed to the new dynasty by some special confirmation of a ceremonial nature in the ancestral temple. Thus Wu-wang had open communion with Heaven through his ancestors, while that of Shang was closed.

[5] Before making a divination by means of the Tortoise and the Book of Oracles, Tan had made a solemn invocation to the royal ancestors on behalf of the King, thereby removing it from any trifling or selfish motive. Whatever may be the general view of such practices in these days, it is a matter of history that they were conducted with the greatest care and reverence by successive sovereigns of China from the time of Fuh-hi (B.C. 2943) for over two thousand years; and it is worthy of notice that only those rulers who neglected the performance of these divinations, together with the astronomical prognostics and the invocation of the ancestral spirits, failed to sustain the Empire in peace.

[6] It was customary for all who went up to the ancestral temple to record such invocations and petitions as were made by them, and to place them in the golden-edged casket.

[7] The brothers of Wu-wang were Kwan-shuh, Chow-kung, Tsae-shuh, and Ho-shuh. On the death of Wu-

wang, B.C. 1114, his son Sung ascended the throne under the name of Chung-wang, being then only twelve years of age. Tan, the Duke of Chow (Chow-kung), acted for him in the capacity of Prime Minister and Controller of Works. His brothers, Kwan, Tsae, and Ho, moved by jealousy, spread libellous reports abroad to the effect that Chow-kung would be injurious to the young King. Thereupon, foreseeing the evil which would result from his remaining in office, Tan retired to the eastern territory, taking with him the book of symbols, to which he attached a commentary. This book was said to contain 384 symbols, or hieroglyphs, originated by Tsung-hia, and of which 374 were in current use in the ancient writings of this period. He also composed a satirical ode on the predatory nature of the owl, comparing it to those who lived by disturbing and plundering the royal house. It was popularly known and called the Owl ditty.

[8] In due season the country was not only supplied with grain, but also with timber, which had required no felling.

SECTION IX

THE GREAT ANNOUNCEMENT

The King[1] made an announcement, as follows:

Behold! I make a great announcement to you Officers of State of that which is not to be commiserated. Heaven has sent down a calamity on my family with no little delay.[2] Overwhelming it is that I, a young and inexperienced man, should succeed to unlimited power and to great calculations and duties, without any attainment of discretion (by which) to lead the people to happiness; much less can it be said that I possess the ability to thoroughly know the celestial decrees.

I am, indeed, but as a little child in the act of crossing the great deep. I can but go forward, seeking wherewith I may accomplish the task. I diffuse good regulations, and spread abroad the decrees which I have received; and while I do not neglect the great work, I dare not oppose myself to the Heaven-sent chastisement.[3]

The temperate King bequeathed to me the great treasure of the Tortoise (so that) I might unite with the celestial intelligence.[4]

Now I have ascertained that the decree says we shall have great disturbances in the western territory, and that the people of the western territory also would not be at rest in consequence of this commotion.

Yin is but slightly prosperous, and yet has rashly dared

to assume the control, and Heaven will send down its inflictions. Knowing that our country had a weak point,[5] and that the people were not tranquil, he said: I will retrieve (the kingdom); and incited the towns against our Chow dominion. He had no sooner blundered than, on the following day, ten men of ability among my people assisted me to soothe and moderate (the people) and to carry out the plan of meritorious work (begun by my predecessor). And when I took in hand this great undertaking, I found the divinations and prognostics altogether fortunate.

Therefore I declare to you, my allied Princes, together with the chiefs of clans, all officials and agents of affairs, and say that I, having obtained a fortunate prognostication, intend, in company with you of the various States, to attack Yin with his vagrant and scattered adherents.

But you Princes of the various States, together with all the officers and agents, will without exception reply, saying: The difficulty is great and the people are not at rest, besides which it is due to the royal house and the connections of the State Princes. Also our young and old are agreed that we should not deal with the matter, and the King's decision is not according to the prognostics.

Therefore I, the inexperienced one, still thinking of the difficulty, say: O then! should they (persist in) this blunder, how sorry will be the widows and the poor! But I am declared to be Heaven's minister, (and Heaven) has bequeathed this great and difficult task to me personally, therefore I do not attempt to spare myself. But in justice you Princes of the country, together with you numerous officers, heads of families, and agents, should console me by saying: Let us not be disturbed with anxiety. You should not leave incomplete what your moderating predecessor planned to accomplish.[6]

Moreover, I, who am but a little child, do not dare to ignore the Supreme Ruler's decree. Heaven dealt exceedingly well with the superseding monarch, and raised up our small State of Chow. But the tranquillising King was

attentive to the prognostics, and was thus able to calmly receive the decree. And now that Heaven favourably regards our people, how much more should we also be attentive to the prognostics? Yes, indeed, the celestial intelligence is dreadful, and you should assist me to enlarge our great inheritance.

The King continued: You are the trusted servants of my father, and you are exceedingly capable of examining past conditions. You know Ning-wang, how diligent he was. Now when Heaven opposes and troubles us we ought to complete our merits in that particular. I do not dare to neglect perfecting to the utmost Ning-wang's plans and affairs. Therefore I will make great transformations and advance my allied Princes.[7] When Heaven aids with a sincere expression of goodwill the predecessors of my people, how can I refrain from appealing to the aforetime tranquillising men to complete the plan of meritorious work already devised?[8] And when Heaven, moreover, is diligently stirring up our people, as if they had some malady, how dare I refuse what the aforetime tranquillising men have received, and make an excellent completion (of Heaven's decree)?[9]

The King continued: As was formerly the custom, when I am about to set out on an expedition, I speak of its difficulty and daily reflect upon it. When a father designs to build a house, and having laid down the plans, if the sons will not begin the hall, how much less will they finish (the house)? Or if, when a father has ploughed the ground, his sons will not sow the grain, how much less will they do the reaping? Could those fathers and venerable men say of them: We have descendants who will not forsake their inheritance? Wherefore, how dare I refrain from trying to nurture the tranquillising king's great decree to the fullest extent? If elder brothers and fathers had allies who attacked their children, would their servants exhort them not to save them?[10]

The King continued: O then, wherefore is it, you allied Princes of the country, and you agents of affairs? This brilliant state (was established) by the cultivation of

capable men, and, moreover, there were ten men who followed out the knowledge of the Supreme Ruler's decree until Heaven aided their sincerity. You at that time did not dare to despise the laws (of Heaven), and how much less (should you) now that Heaven has sent down an affliction upon the Chow country? And seeing these great rebels draw near collectively to make an attack upon the royal house, you also do not appear to know that the celestial decree is not to be lightly set aside. I continually think and say that Heaven is depleting Yin like a capable husbandman (in rooting out weeds). Why should I not then presume to complete my estate, while Heaven also is completing the excellence of the aforetime tranquillising men? Should I make a perfect prognostication and not attempt to follow it out? And if in conducting (the work of) the tranquillising men I have the support of the outlying territories, how much more (shall I not have it) now that the prognostics are altogether favourable? Therefore I urge you upon this eastern expedition. Heaven's decree does not fail us, and the prognostics of the Eastern quarter are in accord with it.

NOTES ON SECTION IX

[1] The King here mentioned is Sung, the son of Wu-wang. He began to reign B.C. 1113. He was called Ching-wang, because he completed (*ching*) the work begun by his father. The incident of the Great Announcement was the rebellion of his three uncles, Kwan, Tsae, and Ho. Having attempted to weaken the young King's hands by false accusations against Tan, the Duke of Chow, who was the Prime Minister of the Emperor, and in consequence of which he wisely retired to the east till these schemers were discovered, the three conspirators were naturally alarmed when the Emperor went out in person to recall the Duke to office, and therefore they rose in rebellion, and were supported by the Yin state, and the people of Hwa-i and Tsiu-yung.

The work of subjecting the rebels was committed to Tan. Chinese history ascribes the Announcement to Tan; but the text is clear proof of the fact that even though Tan may have spoken the words, he was but the mouthpiece of the Emperor, who is here shown to be speaking in person.

[2] This refers to the rebellion of the deceased King's brothers.

[3] "The Heaven-sent chastisement" was that which was about to fall upon the people of Yin. Another reading would convey the idea that Ching-wang could "not resent the Heaven-sent chastisement." In this case it would seem to refer to the Emperor's own troubles. The context supports the former reading.

[4] Sung was but a minor at his father's death, and had not been instructed in the principles and methods of government; but he had been taught not to neglect the prognostications, which were the means of his communication with the celestial intelligence. By this we may suppose that problems which are too deep and complicated for the human reason to fathom and explore are sometimes resolved by the ancient arts of divination when directed by well-disposed people under suitable conditions. In this we have some sort of confirmation by the frequent ascendancy of instinct over reason, and of purely automatic action over purposive action.

[5] This probably refers to the recent death of Wu-wang, and the youthfulness and inexperience of Ching-wang, his successor. Wu-kang, the son of Show, was appointed by Wu-wang to rule over Yin. This act of great consideration, which practically gave back to the heir of Shang the country which Wu-wang had conquered, was met with extreme ingratitude. No sooner was Wu-wang dead, than Wu-kang joined the brothers of the deceased monarch in an attempt to assume the Empire.

[6] "The moderating predecessor" is Wu-wang. The words *ning wang* frequently occur in this chapter, and may be translated in a variety of ways. The word *ning* means "better," "rather," "moderating," "improving," "super-

seding," etc., and any of these may be used to indicate the complimentary title of the warrior-king Wu-wang.

[7] Ching-wang had determined to subdue the rebellion, and threatened "great transformations" in that respect, while at the same time he promised to advance those Princes who were his allies in the work.

[8] The late King being known as the tranquillising King, his Ministers were called "the tranquillising men."

[9] Having begun the work of tranquillising the country under Wu-wang, the Ministers were expected to finish it under his son's direction. They had received Heaven's decree with Wu-wang, and now Ching-wang could not do otherwise than accept it and complete his father's work.

[10] This parabolic phrase refers to Wu-kang as an "elder brother and father," to the four rebel chiefs as "allies," to the people of Yin as "the children," and to the Ministers of State and officers as "servants."

SECTION X

THE LORD OF WEI'S DECREE

THE King spoke to the following effect: O you eldest son of the King of Yin![1] In examining the ancient records (I find it is enjoined) to honour the virtuous, and (since you) appear to be of excellent character, I appoint you to continue (the ministrations) of the former King. Embellish his rites and increase his commodities; be a guest in my royal house; with my country be ever friendly; and so extend your generation indefinitely!

Verily, your ancestor Ching-tang[2] was capable of such veneration, integrity, expansiveness, and profundity of mind that Imperial Heaven benignly aided him and pressed him to receive the decree. He subjected the people by his liberality and suppressed the ravenous oppressors. His merit was famous among contemporaries, and his virtue is handed down to his latest descendant.[3]

You are treading in his footsteps and illustrating his example, and hitherto have possessed an honourable reputation, being well-informed, self-controlled, capable, dutiful, reverential, and respectful to gods and men. I esteem your virtue, and say it is exceedingly memorable. The Supreme Ruler always delights in the lower people's reverence and concord. I therefore command you to be Archduke and to rule over this eastern (land of) Hia.

Be reverential, set forth and spread abroad your instruc-

tions; be careful of the vesture decree;[4] follow out and cultivate the established laws, in order to uphold the royal house. Magnify your illustrious ancestors and be an example to your own people. Continually hold the throne and sustain me, the solitary man. For successive generations maintain virtue. Be an example to the numerous States and give my possession of Chow no cause for complaint.

So, then, go and do thou excel, and forget not these my commands!

NOTES ON SECTION X

[1] The Lord of Wei, eldest son of the Emperor Te-yih by his concubine, and natural brother of the Emperor Chow-Sin, is referred to in Book III., Section XVII., in connection with the fall of the Shang dynasty.

After Ching-wang had finally reduced the Yin State over which Wu-wang had set Kwan, Tsae, and Ho as guardians, he put to death Wu-kang, the son of Show, and Kwan. He imprisoned Tsae at Ko-lin, and degraded Ho to the plebeian rank. He then appointed Wei-tze-khe to be Ruler of Sung, so that the Shang dynasty might have a representative who was entitled to sacrifice and perform the ancestral rites due to his royal father, under whom the two Dukes of Chow, Kwei-leih and Wan-wang, had served.

[2] The founder of the Shang dynasty, by name Li-tze (see Book III., Section I.).

[3] The expression "his latest descendant" refers to Wei-tze-khe, whom the Emperor is addressing.

[4] The vesture decree had reference to the apparel and ornaments permitted to those of various ranks, including the rulers of dependent States such as Sung. The Earl of Yin had but then suffered death through violation of this decree, having assumed imperial prerogatives in the matter of dress and State appointments, thereby indicating his intention of throwing off the suzerainty of Chow.

SECTION XI

KHANG'S ANNOUNCEMENT

In the third moon, when it had just begun to wane, Chow-kung laid the foundations for building anew the great city in the eastern country of Lo. From all parts the people had gathered together, while those of the Hau, Tien, and Nan districts, (together with) the Tsai and Wei provinces, the one hundred officers and the scattered populace, with one accord came to view the work at Chow. The Duke of Chow (urged them) to general diligence, and then triumphantly announced the completion of the work.[1]

The King spoke to the following effect: Respected marquis, my younger brother, the young lord Fung! your great and honourable progenitor Wan-wang was able to display virtue and to be cautious in inflicting penalties. He did not dare to despise the fatherless and widows, he attended to those things which were worthy of attention, reverenced that which ought to be reverenced, and was awful to those who had cause to fear him; while he enlightened the people and extended the fame and influence of our small Hia country, together with one or two States allied to us, so that our western territories were continually fortunate and prosperous. Being heard of the Supreme Ruler, the Supreme One was gracious to him, and Heaven's great decree came to Wan-wang to make war on Yin, which led to his receiving the decree, after which the rulers of the

State and the people were duly governed. Your unworthy elder brother was (by this example) stimulated to effort, whereby you, young Prince Fung, occupy this eastern territory.

The King continued: Yes, indeed, Fung, you should consider this. Now the people will depend on you to reverentially follow out your accomplished predecessor's (example), proclaiming what you have heard and complying with virtuous counsel. Go, then, and everywhere seek to follow after Yin's former wise rulers, making use of (their records) to protect and govern the people. Do you seek far and wide for Shang's old and experienced men, so that you may confirm your thoughts (in wisdom) and know how to instruct (the people). Do you further seek and enquire after the usages of the wise kings of ancient times, and make use of their methods for the tranquillising and protection of the people. Extol the celestial principles, and inasmuch as virtue invests your own person you will not be neglectful of abiding by these my royal decrees.

The King continued: Yes, indeed, young lord Fung, you should sympathise (with others), as if their pain were in your own person. Be respectful. The fear of Heaven aids sincerity. The inclinations of the great can be (easily) observed. It is the little men who are difficult to manage.[2]

Go, therefore, and exercise your mind. Do not seek tranquillity, nor be fond of ease and indolence, and you will rightly govern the people. I have heard it said that contentions do not arise in great things, neither are they founded in small things, but in adaptability or non-adaptability, and in the perfection or imperfection of self-effort.[3]

Furthermore, in regard to yourself, young lord, your duty is to magnify the regal attributes, to adapt and manage the people of Yin, that they also may obey the King and be established in Heaven's decree, and thus become a renovated people.

The King said: O Fung! Be respectful and intelligent in the use of punishments. When men commit small offences, not (due to) ignorance, but persistently and selfishly

practising unlawful things with intent, however small the offence, you must not neglect the punishment. But when men have offended greatly, though not persistently, and it may be in error, misfortune, or by accident, and having acknowledged the enormity of their crime, then you must not chastise them.[4]

The King continued: O Fung! observe regularity and you will greatly enlighten all your subjects, and the people will be stimulated to self-exertion and harmony. The people will as thoroughly renounce their errors as they would throw off a sickness, and will be tranquil and well governed, as if comforting an infant.[5]

It is not you alone, Fung, who can punish and put men to death. Do not be rash in punishing men, nor in putting men to death. It is not you alone, Fung, who can slit the nostrils and ears of men, so do not be rash in stigmatising men.[6]

The King continued: In regard to external affairs, do you appoint timely laws, and let the officers follow those Yin punishments which are appropriate (to time and occasion).[7]

He further said: Reflect upon important criminal charges for five or six days, or even for ten days, and after three months make up your mind as to the accused.

The King continued: Do you appoint times (for the conduct of) legal affairs, and in punishments decide according to the Yin practice, making use of just punishments and righteous penalties, and not administering in accord with your own views. And O you, Fung, do you observe perfect integrity. If one should say (of any affair), 'It is already arranged,' it is for you to reply, 'Yet we will have it properly dealt with.'[8] Although you are but a young man, Fung, yet there are few like you in heart. My thoughts and methods are well known to you.

Whenever (any among) the people involve themselves in crime, becoming robbers and plunderers, conspirators and malefactors, and killing even men for the sake of plunder, reckless and standing in no dread of death, such are invariably abhorrent.

The King continued: O Fung! if these chief offenders are greatly abhorrent, how much more are those who are unfilial and unfriendly! If a son does not respectfully attend to his father's affairs, he greatly wounds the paternal heart; and when a father cannot cherish his son, he gives pain to his child. When a younger brother is unmindful of Heaven's illustrious (relationships), he fails in respect towards his elder brother; and when an elder brother also forgets parental kindness, he is very unfriendly to his younger brother.

When things are thus and the faults cannot be dealt with by our men of government, then the Heaven-bestowed regulations of our people will be widely subverted and confused. Therefore I say, do you speedily cultivate Wan-wang's method, and effect the infliction of punishment on these (offenders) without mercy.[9]

For those who do not carry out (the laws) there are great penalties, how much more for the surrounding Princes and instructed men; for magistrates and minor commissioned officers who spread heresies for the sake of the people's applause; who do not consider (their various duties), nor employ themselves save to distress their ruler! These are the emissaries of evil and are to me an abomination. Therefore do you speedily deal with these justly and carry out their death penalty.[10]

Moreover, as Prince and chief, should you be unable (to control) your household, together with your inferior officers and outside controllers, except you overawe and oppress them, thus greatly exceeding the royal decrees, then a false method of conduct would be employed in government.[11]

But if you can also invariably respect the established laws, you will develop and enrich the people. It was Wan-wang's respectfulness and caution (that did this for our country). In enriching the people could you say: "It is I who have attained to it," then I, the solitary man, would have cause to rejoice.

The King resumed: O Fung! intelligently considering the people, do you conduct them to prosperity and peace.

I constantly consider the virtue of Yin's former wise Kings, and use it to tranquillise and govern the people, but now more than ever, when the people have no one to lead them on, and no one to guide them; for if they are not (carefully) conducted, there will be no thorough government in the country.

The King continued: O Fung! I, for my part, could not fail to enquire into and announce to you the explanation of the ancient virtue in regard to the infliction of punishments. But now the people are not at rest, and have not yet suppressed their feelings. Those who have led them, notwithstanding continuous effort, have not yet (brought them) into uniformity. Properly considering Heaven's inflictions, which are so grievous to me, I do not complain. But the offences need not be great, nor need they be numerous (to incur Heaven's correction). How much less need they be when it is said the condition of the people is displayed and heard in heaven![12]

The King continued: O Fung! be respectfully cautious! Do not effect anything of a contentious nature; do not follow evil counsels, nor adopt irregular proceedings; let your decisions be timely, sincere, and of great consequence; let virtue soothe your mind; test your principles; make plans for the far-distant future; moderate yourself in order that the people may be tranquillised, and you will not be culpable, nor will you be cut off.

The King added: But O you young lord Fung! The decree is not invariable. Do you ponder upon this! Let me not curtail your appointment. Intelligently obey the commands, esteem my counsel, and peacefully govern your people.

The King concluded somewhat as follows: Go, Fung! Do not ignore the venerable laws; hearken to what I have told you, so that you may have the Yin people for a continual possession![13]

NOTES ON SECTION XI

[1] Both texts contain this chapter, but it is evident that at this point the text is chronologically disarranged; for the remainder of this Fourth Book, including this section, should follow the fifth chapter, since they are concerned with the instructions given to Khang-shuh (Fang), the younger brother of the Emperor Wu-wang, on his appointment to the Wei district.

The other brothers, Sien, Tuh, Khien, Chinto, and Wuh, were severally appointed to Kwan, Tsae, Ho, Tsaou, and Ching. The first three named, Kwan-shuh, Tsae-shuh, and Ho-shuh, were guardians of the Yin State under Wu-kang, the son of the defeated monarch, who was appointed to be Earl of Yin. These four afterwards rebelled against Wa-wang's successor, and the prelude to their downfall is contained in "The Great Announcement" of Ching-wang (B.C. 1111). But as the appointment of Fang to the Marquisate of Wei took place under Wu-Wang in B.C. 1120, this and the following two sections should follow the fifth section; and the seventh, eighth, and ninth sections should replace them.

The first paragraph records the completion of the city of Tsung-Chow, "the honour of Chow" (the modern Se-gan), in Shen-si, which was the western metropolis. Chou-kung (or Tan), the eldest surviving brother of Wu-wang, directed the work.

[2] The importance of attending to things in their incipience is already familiar to the reader as a principle of good government. Wu-wang here states the necessity of attending to the needs of the small people who cannot make themselves heard except in popular tumults; whereas the great are easily heard, having only to state their needs in order to have them attended to.

[3] Contentions do not arise in things themselves, either great or small, but in the failure of rulers and ministers to adapt their views to the needs of the time, as well as in lack of effort in preventing the causes of contention.

Industry, attention to detail, and adaptability to circumstance are undoubtedly among the chief elements of success in any department of life, and are indispensable to good government.

[4] Wu-wang is here advocating those principles of justice upon which the patriarchal kings Yaou and Shun founded the Empire and commanded the awe and love of their people. Wilful wrongdoing, however small in extent, should be severely punished; but crimes of ignorance, misfortune, or accident, being duly regretted by their perpetrators, might be condoned.

[5] The expression, "the people will as thoroughly renounce their errors as if throwing off a sickness," has reference to the disorders of the State which had taken place under the dissolute and tyrannous rule of Chow-Sin (Show).

[6] To impress Khang-shuh with the importance of observing extreme caution in administering punishment, Wu-wang reminds him that putting men to death and sliting their nostrils and ears is not his sole prerogative. There was also the Emperor himself, and above him Heaven, who could do these things very effectively on proper occasion. Show had delighted in inflicting tortures and horrible deaths upon his subjects, and hence this word of warning was necessary. Show went mad on being defeated by Wu-wang and burned himself to death, thus tasting of that torture which he had so often inflicted on others in his insane love of cruelty; while his dissolute mistress, Taiki, the authoress of many ingenious tortures, had both nose and ears lopped off along with her head. The Emperor, no doubt, thought of these things while he cautioned Fang on the evils of thoughtless and hasty sentences.

[7] The affairs of State which related to religious ceremonies, sacrifices, divinations, etc., were called "internal affairs;" and the ordinary administration of the civic laws, the regulations of the army, criminal administration, commerce, agriculture, etc., were called "external affairs." These latter were to be reduced to a calendaric regularity. Wu-wang here refers particularly to the administration of

the criminal code, and commands that regular times for hearing cases should be observed and the Yin code of punishments followed out.

[8] It was necessary that nothing which concerned the State should be entrusted altogether to Ministers. It was for the ruler to examine and sanction all procedures. If this were neglected, licence and tyranny would speedily arise to the detriment of the people. Fang was directed, therefore, to keep the government in his own hands.

[9] Even worse than the capital offender are those who subvert the Heaven-appointed relationships, and neglect the observance of those duties which belong to natural ties. For if a man does not respect and cherish those who are of his own flesh and blood, how little will he respect strangers or cherish his countrymen. Wu-wang appears to suggest what has already been intimated, that if men are good sons they will make good citizens and good subjects, and none but those who are good at home are likely to be good away from it. The hearthstone of the family is the foundation-stone of the nation. To paraphrase an old proverb: A nation is no stronger than its weakest family.

[10] The punishments of those who break the laws being very severe, how much more severe should be the penalty of those who make and administer the laws. In saying this, Wu-wang appears to have had in mind the tyrant Show and his Ministers.

[11] For a King to overawe with majesty and to command obedience by fear is not in accord with the principles of righteous government. If respect and devotion are not spontaneous with the people, the enforced semblance of these feelings is only a source of corruption. It was contrary to the royal decree for a territorial ruler to overawe and oppress the people. Moreover, Wu-wang was desirous of returning to "the due medium," or the "middle path" of moderation observed by the ancient rulers, and by this he came to be known as "the tranquillising monarch," Ning-wang.

[12] Heaven has prime respect to consequences and is careful of its offspring. It has been said: "The people are Heaven's chief care"; and this being so, the evils of government need not be either great or numerous to incur the chastisement of Heaven. This saying is in the same spirit as the one which says: "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth," and Wu-wang was of those who "Called upon the name of God early in the morning"—that is to say, he saw the end from the beginning and was careful of small offences.

[13] It must be conceded that no wiser nor more effective counsel ever passed into expression on the occasion of a State appointment than this which "the temperate monarch" gave to his younger brother Fang.

SECTION XII

THE ANNOUNCEMENT AS TO WINE

The King spoke to the following effect: Manifest the great decree to the Mei State.[1] Your respectful predecessor Wan-wang, at the founding of his kingdom in the Western Territory, pronounced a warning to the various States and the numerous officers, together with the minor officials and men employed early and late, saying: In sacrificing wine is used, and when Heaven sent down the decree in the first instance to my people it was originally for sacrificing. Heaven's conferring this dread thing on our people caused great confusion and loss of virtue; and, moreover, wine is invariably the means (of such confusion and trouble). Also when small and great States come to ruin, it is also invariably wine that is the cause of the evil.[2] Wan-wang informed and instructed the young men, the magistrates, and agents of affairs, forbidding addiction to wine; and when on public occasions it was used, it was for sacrificing, and that virtuously, so as to prevent intoxication.[3]

Wan-wang said: My people induced young men to delight in the produce of the earth, for their hearts were good. They attentively listened to their ancestors' constant instructions, and small and great virtues with the young people were one and the same.

You people of Mei-tuh,[4] exercise your limbs in the cultiva-

tion of millet and grain, and serve your parents and superiors with alacrity. Lay the foundation with your wagons and oxen of an extensive trade, exerting your filial powers for the benefit of your parents; and your parents being duly satisfied, you can then bathe and refresh, and after that you can use wine.[5] O you numerous officers and magistrates, together with all you chiefs and princely people, do you obediently hearken to my instructions. If you could liberally supply your parents and rulers, you could then drink and eat to repletion; and to speak of greater things, if you could constantly examine and scrutinise (yourselves), and observe the middle path of virtue, and if you could voluntarily furnish and present the sacrifices, you would then promote your own pleasures, and thus truly be the Ministers of the king's proper business.[6] Thus also you would become Heaven-compliant, (which is) the chief virtue, and be continually remembered in the Royal House.[7]

The King continued: O Fung! in our western land, the assistant Ministers, the Princes of the country, the officials and young gentry were spontaneously capable of putting into practice Wan-wang's instructions, and refrained from indulging in wine; and therefore I, in due time, was able to receive Yin's decree.[8]

The King resumed: O Fung! I have heard it said that in former times Yin's first wise King induced a fearful regard for Heaven's manifestations among the common people, and wisely maintained the standard virtues. From the time of the accomplished T'ang even until the Emperor Yih, there were accomplished Kings who had dread regard of being in accord (with Heaven's manifestations), and their officials assisted them with due veneration. They did not dare to be indolent and luxurious, and how much less can it be said that they dared to favour drinking.[9]

Further, in the outer posts, among the marquises, counts, barons, protectors, and chiefs of States, together with those in the interior positions, such as the one hundred officers, the numerous magistrates, those of secondary degree and their subordinates, the foremen of works, together with the

commoners and villagers, there were none who dared to be immersed in wine.

Not only did they not dare to be so, but also they were not indolent (in repressing it in others). They were thus assisting to perfect the royal virtue and illustrate it; and the ruling men reverently regarded the laws.

I have heard, moreover, that it has been said, and that quite recently, the late King [10] was so frequently intoxicated that his decrees were not made manifest to the people. He had regard to and propagated only intestinal hatreds, to the neglect of all reforms, and thus become the slave of dissolute excesses and unlawful practices; while in the pursuit of pleasure he lost that majesty which is proper (to a King), so that the people were without exception considerably wounded in their hearts. He gave himself over to wine, without ever repressing his lusts. His mind was so enslaved that he could not even dread death. His iniquities pervaded the Shang capital, and when the Yin country was invaded, even then he was not dismayed. Virtue was neglected, the sacrifice was not offered up, nor was his testimony heard in Heaven. He aroused the people's hatred, while all their leaders gave themselves up to wine, so that their offence was heard on high. Therefore did Heaven send down destruction upon Yin, conceding nothing, because of their lusts. Not that Heaven (desired) to oppress them, but that the people (themselves) rushed upon their ruin.[11]

The King said: O Fung! I would not extend my announcements (except to remind you that) the ancients have a proverb which says: Men should not take water for a mirror, but should use mankind as such.

Now seeing that Yin has failed in its decree, how could I avoid using it largely as an illustration whereby to quiet (the people of) these times?

I would only say that you should strenuously admonish Yin's accomplished Ministers, the marquises, counts, barons, and chiefs; particularly the Great Recorder and the Inner Recorder, together with the learned Ministers and the principal high officials; and further, all your advisory

council and executive officers ;[12] and yet further, those who are, so to speak, your associates ; the chief patriarch of the State, who subdues offences ; the father of agriculture, who is, as it were, the protector (of the people's lives) ; the father of administration who settles the laws ; and, above all, you should charge yourself with the vigorous repression of addiction to wine.

I should further say : Do not fail (to arrest) the drunken clubmen,[13] all of whom should be seized and sent on to Chow, where I can deal with them summarily. But regarding Yin's leading Ministers and officials who are immersed in wine, do not put them to death, but merely admonish them.

Should they adopt (your counsel), I shall manifest my pleasure ; but if they do not observe the purport of my instructions, then I, the solitary man, will neither show compassion nor excuse them in the matter, but will at once similarly commit them to death.[14]

The King concluded : O Fung ! do you consistently hearken to my warnings ; for if you do not control your officials, the people will become immersed in wine.

NOTES ON SECTION XII

[1] Mei-tuh was the capital of the Shang State to which Fang had been appointed. Wu-wang makes this announcement in order to repress the drunkenness which had become disgracefully prevalent under the dissolute rule of Show (Chow-Sin).

[2] The immoderate use of strong drinks is said to be the cause of the ruin of men and empires. It was so in Wan-wang's experience, who had cause to deplore the evils due to it in the Shang State. In ancient times wine was principally used for sacrificial libations, and only on special occasions, such as the annual Feast of the Ancestors, for general consumption, and even then it was used with moderation. The curse of drink is of ancient origin, and

numerous examples of its disastrous effects are to be found in all literatures.

[3] This paragraph concludes the remarks made by Wu-wang. The succeeding paragraph is a quotation from his predecessor.

[4] Here begins the decree which Khang-Shuh (Fang) was to communicate to the people and Ministers of the Yin State of Shang.

[5] The cultivation of the soil, latterly so much neglected, was the first essential to the renovation of the State. Filial duty and respect was the second essential. These being attended to, the enjoyment of natural and healthy exercises might be followed by the moderate use of wine. Only when all the duties and normal pleasures of life have been engaged in is the use of wine permitted. The kind of wine in use among the Chinese at this time is not mentioned, but there can be little doubt that it was of Western origin —probably first made in Chow ; and Dr Medhurst considers that the passage, "*When Heaven sent down the decree in the first instance to my people*," has reference to the making of wine as a sacrificial oblation. The word is compounded of *yu* (ripe) and *Shuy* (water), which certainly supports the ruling of Dr Medhurst. (*Cf.* Radicals 146, 164).

[6] The external duties of the civilian were embodied in the five relationships, the first duty being that of filial regard. The internal duties had respect to self-examination, moderation of desires (*chung-teh*), and the provision of the sacrifice to the ancestors. The "King's proper business" is government, and those who exercise self-control and self-government are so far true Ministers of the King. If every man governed himself and obeyed the laws, there would be no need of special decrees, limitations, restraints, and punishments.

[7] The first virtue is here mentioned. It is that of compliance with Heaven. It is Heaven's will that the people should be established in peace and prosperity, that the eternal laws should find their illustration in the government of the world ; and to the extent that the individual

attempts self-government and the attainment of natural simplicity and virtue, he is in accord with the *Tien-Tao*, or Law of Heaven.

[8] The phrase "I was able to receive Yin's decree" infers that, on account of the prevailing regard for temperance and virtue which had been inculcated by the accomplished ruler Wan-wang, his successor Wu-wang was able to receive the decree to govern the Empire instead of Yin, the latter country having fallen into ruin.

[9] Yin's first wise King was T'ang (Ching-T'ang), who put an end to the oppression of Kieh, the last of the Hia dynasty, and established the throne of the Shang dynasty at Po, B.C. 1764. From T'ang to Yih (Ti-yih), B.C. 1189–1152, there were fully six hundred years, during which the standards of virtue were not lowered by this habit of drinking. Then arose Show, who made a veritable god of wine and was indolent and luxurious, a prototype of the Roman Nero.

[10] "The late King" refers to Show or Chow-Sin. His enormities are referred to in the text, and the Chinese history gives some revolting details of his excesses, which, for bestial insanity, have, fortunately, no parallel in the records of the Celestial Empire. To describe him as the Nero of China is, if anything, a slander on the Roman Emperor, but it is hard to find any other character who faintly resembles this debauched giant.

[11] Heaven does not will the affliction and ruin of a people, but has established definite laws which man, above all other creatures, may understand and accord with; but which, being wilfully ignored and transgressed, will inevitably work for his destruction. Even the ignorant, who cannot essay the study of Heaven's Way, are by nature endowed with a simplicity of character which is in harmony with divine principles, so that they are continually preserved by virtue of their simplicity. But when either ignorance or knowledge are estranged from virtue, there is no compliance with the will of Heaven, but rather wilful resistance; and this is called rushing upon one's own ruin. When earthly rulers are careful to distinguish between sins of ignorance

and wilful wrongdoing, how much more discerning must be the judgment of Heaven!

[12] "Advisory council" is literally, those who sit down; and "executive officers" is literally, those who rise up. The former suggests deliberation and advice, while the latter indicates action arising out of such advice.

[13] This refers to those who formed clubs and met together for the purpose of deep drinking, who formed cabals and indulged in riotous proceedings.

[14] This and the preceding paragraph shows that the Emperor was unwilling to deprive the country of capable men who could be reformed; but as these were conspicuous people, their example would be imitated by others, so that if they were unwilling to give up their drunken habits, they could not be allowed to live and continue to corrupt the nation. This is emphasised in the last paragraph.

SECTION XIII

GOOD MATERIAL[1]

The King said: O Fang! In order that the populace may accord with the Ministers and be in agreement with the great families (of the State), and in order that their Ministers may be in alliance with the King, it is necessary for him to be a good statesman.

You may possibly think and say to yourself: I have instructors and advisers, legislators, warriors, and engineers, magistrates and other officials. (Then should you) say: I will not unmercifully slay men.

Moreover, a Prince should be foremost in respect and encouragement (of others), and thereby induce respect and encouragement (from them).

Therefore, as regards the conspirators and villains, the murderers and malefactors (of the past), pardon them; and therein also they may behold your princely work. Those who have maimed and injured men, pardon them also.

The Kings (formerly) ordained inspectors of disorders taking place among the people, (and charged them), saying: Do not permit assaults and mutual oppressions, but show respect even to the destitute and widows, and cultivate the people for their continual welfare. When the Kings thus did with the State Princes and their agents, what was the command intended for, if not the nourishing (of the people) and their establishment? From of old the Kings acted thus, and the inspectors were not overbearing.

He then said: As in the cultivation of fields, having diligently tilled and ploughed them, one may lay out and trim its borders and ditches; or as in erecting a house, having diligently (completed) the upper and lower storeys, one may plaster and thatch it; so in the preparation of good material, having industriously planed and shaped it, one may then paint it with red and variegated colours.[2]

Then let the King consider what is said: Former Kings having sedulously employed intelligent virtues, and having cherished the practice of neighbourliness, the numerous States enjoyed (their condition), and exercising their brotherly functions, they came from all quarters; and in like manner, having employed intelligent virtues, the Prince should enact statutes for harmonising the numerous States to their greater enjoyment.

Imperial Heaven having delivered the people of Chung-kwo, together with their territory, into (the hands of) our former King,[3] therefore let your Majesty make use of virtue to pacify and benefit, to lead and to urge this refractory people, and so give them cause to be thankful that our former King received the decree (of Heaven).

Having said thus much, do you reflect upon it, and I may add the wish that even unto ten thousand years your Majesty's children and children's children may continually protect the people.

NOTES ON SECTION XIII

[1] This title is derived from an expression which means a good baulk of timber and which occurs in the text. The section is a continuation of Wu-wang's instruction to Fang relative to his government of Yin.

[2] The tilling and ploughing, the building of upper and lower storeys, the planing and shaping, refers to the work done in the Yin country by Wu-wang. The finishing of these works, the plastering and thatching, the entrenching and fencing, the painting and adorning, was appointed to Khang-Shuh.

[3] The remainder of this section is so unlike what goes before, that it is thought to have been wrongly inserted here through derangement of the leaves. The reference to the territory of the middle kingdom (*Chung-kwo*) having been delivered into the hands of "our former King," strongly suggests that this is part of Ching-wang's counsel to the Count of Wei. There is much that is irregular and not a little perplexing in the arrangement of the last three sections of this Book.

BOOK V

THE BOOK OF CHOW—PART II

SECTION I

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF SHAOU [1]

In the second month of the year, after the moon had passed the full by as much as six days, on the thirty-second day of the cycle, the King set out early from Chow and arrived at Fung.[2]

It was then that the Great Protector,[3] (who had) preceded Chow-kung to examine the site, proceeded leisurely on his journey; and on the third month, on the forty-third day of the cycle, the crescent moon (appeared);[4] and on the third day afterwards, on the forty-fifth day of the cycle, the Great Protector arrived at Lo, where he divined (concerning) the site, and having obtained a favourable augury, he accordingly laid the plans (of the city). On the third day, (that is to say), on the forty-seventh day of the cycle, the Great Protector employed the people of Yin to prepare the site on the Lo-juy,[5] and on the fifth day afterwards, on the fifty-first day of the cycle, the site was finished.

A day later, on the fifty-second day of the cycle, Chow-kung came early to Lo, and thereupon thoroughly examined the plans of the new city.

On the third day thereafter, the fifty-fourth day of the cycle, he made a general sacrifice of two bullocks,[6] and on the next day, the fifty-fifth of the cycle, he sacrificed to the

gods of the earth in the new city one bullock, one sheep, and one pig. After seven days, on the first day of the (next) cycle, Chow-kung made the record of his decree to all Yin's hundred marquises, lords, and barons; and they, having commanded the populace of Yin, the hosts of Yin generally applied themselves (to the task).

The Great Protector then went forth to all the chief Princes of the country and accepted their presents of silk, and going in again he presented them to Chow-kung, saying:

Let my humble obeisance and prostration take place before the King as before your Grace, and the acclamations of all (the people of) Yin will proceed from your discharge of this business.

Verily! Imperial Heaven's Supreme Ruler has diverted the decree of the ruler of this great country of Yin,[7] and your Majesty (has now) received that decree, which, while (producing) unlimited blessings, also (incurs) boundless anxiety. Verily! how can you afford to dispense with reverence?

Heaven, being about to end the great country of Yin's decree forever, (then) this Yin's many ancient wise rulers (were heard) in Heaven. But afterwards, the successive rulers and their respective peoples thus invested with the decree, proscribed wisdom and established oppression, so that a long-suffering people, compelled at length to protect their wives and children, made sorrowful petition to Heaven, and when they attempted to make their escape they were arrested. Ah! but Heaven also showed compassion to all the nation in conferring the decree upon those who were capable of perfecting (the government). Let your Majesty (therefore) earnestly cultivate the respect of virtue.[8]

On examining (the history) of the ancient people of Hia, (we find) that Heaven permitted them to pass on (the Empire) to their sons' protection, because they looked to Heaven and consulted Heaven's inclination;[9] but now (that State) has lost its decree. And then as regards Yin, (we see) that Heaven permitted (that dynasty) to extend its guardianship while it looked to Heaven and examined Heaven's disposition.

Now, however, that dynasty also has lost its decree. And now that the young lord has ascended the throne, let him therefore not neglect the old and experienced men who are said to have great regard to our ancient predecessors' virtue, and more especially since it is said they can read the behests of Heaven.

Verily, although the King be young, may he not largely succeed in unifying the lower people and (so promoting) their present welfare? Let not his Majesty (therefore) presume to put off the use of his responsibility, but let him have dread regard to the people's verdict. Let the King come and carry out the Supreme Ruler's own authority in this central territory. Tan[10] has said: He who founds (this) great city will thenceforth be allied to Imperial Heaven, and should sacrifice to the superior and inferior (spirits), and thenceforth should maintain a moderate government. If the King can possess the perfect decree (of Heaven) and regulate the people, he will then display his excellence! Let the King first of all ordain Yin's ministers of affairs to collaborate with and aid those having the management of affairs in our country of Chow; and let them control their natures so as daily to advance themselves (in virtue). Let the King have due regard to effecting his appointments, and then he can never fail in the respect of virtue.

I cannot fail to observe the Hia dynasty, nor can I omit to regard the Yin dynasty, and I would not presume to advert to the Hia dynasty's having sustained the celestial decree for a certain number of years, nor would I venture to refer to its cessation, save that, for want of respect for virtue, it soon failed of its decree. I would not presume to mention the Yin dynasty's having received the celestial decree for a number of years, nor would I venture to call to mind its non-continuance, except that, on account of its lack of respect for virtue, it early fell from its decree.

Now the King inherits the decree, which is this same (that was conferred upon) the two dynasties (aforesaid); let him therefore also succeed to similar merit, and the King will then begin to enrobe himself (with true sovereignty).

Verily! as in the culture of children it is invariably from their earliest infancy that they obtain the decree of their intelligence, so Heaven has decreed wisdom (to our King); and whether good fortune or misery or length of years is decreed, we may know from the present, at the beginning of our new estate. For we are establishing a new capital. Therefore let the King cultivate respect for virtue.[11] And if the King should make use of virtue, he will be endowed with Heaven's perpetual decree.

He who is the King should not permit the inferior people to indulge in unlawful practices; neither should he kill and slay them, but should make use of proper government, so that the people may haply acquire merit. He who occupies the regal throne should place virtue foremost (of all things), and then the lower people will imitate him, making use (of his example) throughout the Empire, for the King's more manifest glory.[12] Let both high and lowly with intense solicitude say to themselves: May our Heaven-bestowed decree be great as was that of Hia for successive years, and may our rule be not inferior to that of Yin for continuous years.

I desire that your Majesty, on behalf of the lower people, may receive Heaven's perpetual decree.

Then, bowing low, (Chaou-kung) made obeisance, saying:

I, your unworthy Minister, presume to take in hand your Majesty's disaffected subjects, the one hundred officers and the obedient subjects assisting me to maintain your Majesty's dignified decree and enlightened virtue. As to your Majesty eventually obtaining the perfect decree and becoming yet more illustrious, I will not presume to distress myself (for a moment). I would only reverentially present these offerings (of your subjects), and assist your Majesty to effectively solicit Heaven's perpetual decree.[13]

NOTES ON SECTION I

This section is found in both the ancient and modern texts.

[1] It is recorded in Chinese history that in the second month of spring, the King (Ching-wang) commanded Chaou-kung, *i.e.*, the Duke of Shaou, to inspect the site of the new capital of Lo, and was afterwards left to regulate its government, the refractory people of Yin having been transferred thither.

[2] The second month of spring is March. The text says "after the moon had passed the full." There was a new moon on the 11th February (O.S.) B.C. 1106 (astronomical), or B.C. 1107 (secular), and the full of that moon would fall about the 27th of February. Then "six days" being added, we have 5th March as the date of the King's departure for Fung.

[3] *Tai-paou*, "the Great Protector," was the official title of Chaou-kung. The name is sometimes rendered Shaou-kung. It is distinguished from the name of the Prime Minister (Chow-kung) by its greater breadth of tone in addition to its English spelling.

[4] This date is the 16th March (O.S.), the moon being then five days old.

[5] The Lo-juy, or "Lo junction," was a tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Lo River with the Yellow River.

[6] The expression "general sacrifice" is used to distinguish this ceremony from the annual sacrifice in the ancestral temple. The sentence immediately following gives it further point.

[7] The original reads: "the chief son of this great country of Yin's decree," the chief son of this great country of Yin being, of course, its ruler. Hence the rendering.

[8] This paragraph is certainly the most difficult of translation in the whole work. The phrasing is stilted and imperfect, and only a general idea of its purport can be arrived at, even by close study. The text has been followed as nearly as possible, consistent with intelligibility.

[9] This may well mean that the people and rulers of Yin consulted the aspects of the heavenly bodies and regulated their affairs accordingly. But a more Catholic intrepreta-

tion would be conveyed in the words: they were God-fearing people.

[10] Tan was the name of the Duke of Chow, or Chow-kung, the Prime Minister of Ching-wang, the son of Wu-wang. The Duke of Shaou (Shaou-kung) is here delivering a message to the King through the person of the Prime Minister. The Duke of Shaou's name was Shih. He was one of the three regents under Ching-wang, and ruled over Shensi (Ho-nan) westward.

[11] The idea is that intelligence, happiness, misery, etc., are determined to a person from the moment of birth, and Shaou-kung says these things in a young King are as yet undiscovered; but the present condition of the people is an index to its future, and the beginning of any enterprise (such as the founding of a city) is that which determines its future, its good fortune, its evil fortune, and its duration. Therefore Shaou-kung divined concerning the new city which was to be the capital of the State, and according to Chinese history it was declared that "the dynasty would extend through thirty generations, and would last for seven hundred years"; and considering that this history was in the hands of Confucius, and at that date (B.C. 517) not much less than 600 years old, the truth of this prognostic is remarkable. From Ching-wang in the eleventh century to Nan-wang in the fourth century is about 700 years, during which there were thirty-two Emperors of China.

[12] The expressions *siaou-min* ("inferior people") and *hia-min* ("lower people") refer to the subjects of a King, and are so designated because all men, however great, are lower than and inferior to the King.

[13] The "obedient subjects" were those of Chow, and the "disaffected" were certain people of Yin who followed the three rebels Kwan, Tsai, and Ho in their rising against Ching-wang (see notes on Book IV., Section IX.).

SECTION II

THE LO ANNOUNCEMENT[1]

CHOW-KUNG bowed and bent low his head, saying:

I now make answer to my son, the intelligent Prince.[2] The King would hardly have dared to extend the celestial decree (so far as) to establish this foundation (of the new State). But I, in addition to the Great Protector, have thoroughly inspected this eastern territory (with a view to) the place becoming the foundation of the activities of the people's intelligent sovereign. I, on the fifty-second day of the cycle,[3] duly arrived at the Lo city, and I divined on the north of the Ho at the junction of the Lo water. I again divined on the east of the Kien water and on the west of the Tien water, and it was upon Lo (that the decision) fell. I further divined on the east of the Tien water, and again it was on Lo that the decision fell. I then sent a messenger to take the plan of the place in addition to the divinations (to the King).[4]

The King (when acknowledging the Duke's envoy) bowed low and bent his head, saying:

Your Grace has not dared to disregard Heaven's excellent (decree) and has come[5] to inspect this capital, which is to become of equal importance to our capital of Chow. Your Grace, having established the capital, has sent a messenger to exhibit to me those excellent divinations, which are in all respects favourable, and your Grace has

secured for me Heaven's excellent decree forever. I bend low (therefore) and bow my head (in acknowledgment of) your helpful words.

Chow-kung, (on his return to Chow), said:

Your Majesty should institute extensive ceremonies and sacrifices in the new city, and (effect) all those arrangements for which there was no prescribed rules.[6]

I have marshalled and despatched the one hundred officers to attend your Majesty in Chow, and I have told them, saying: I have no business for you.[7]

Now let your Majesty forthwith command them, saying: I will make a record of those who are worthy of distinction, so that the meritorious may effect the principal part of the sacrifice. It is my express decree that you who receive these commands shall liberally assist (your ruler).

Greatly display this (record of) merit everywhere, and then it will depend upon how you instruct your officers (as to what the result will be). How then can the young men intrigue? But should they form intrigues, will it not be as in the case of fire which at first smoulders and then bursts into the engulphing flame which cannot be extinguished?

Follow the invariable (principles) and extend the affairs of the country, as I did.[8] Make use of the officers now in Chow, and go to the new city, directing them as to your objects, so that they may immediately take up their duties. Intelligently stimulate those who have merit, be liberal and large-minded. Complete the wealth (of the nation). You will then continually have cause for congratulation.

The Duke continued: You are as yet but a young man, but it is for you to complete (the work begun by others). Do you show them respect. Ascertain who of the one hundred Princes pay court (to you), and ascertain also those who do not pay court. Paying court requires extensive ceremony, and when the ceremonies are not equal to the offerings, then it may be said that no proper court is paid. It is (when these Princes) do not show any inclination to pay court (to the sovereign) that all the people say: There is no need for us to pay court. Then it is that the affairs

of the nation similarly fall into contempt. You are yet but a young man, but you may disseminate my unwearying (labours). Hearken while I teach you how to assist the people (in following) the invariable principles (of right conduct); for if you do not exert yourself, how can you expect that your dominion [9] will be continual? Liberally arrange (the affairs of) your upright father,[10] and invariably imitate me. Then (the people) will not dare to disobey your commands. Go, thou, and be respectfully cautious. Thus I have displayed intelligent husbandry. In that do you enrich yourself, and our people will never be too far away to make use of your protection.

The King replied to the following effect, saying: Your Grace has enlightend and protected me, who am but a young man. You have cited and enlarged upon (the principles) of illustrious virtue, in order that I, the insignificant one, may embellish the glories of Wan and Wu, and reverently conform to the celestial decree, for the harmonising and continuance of the people of the four quarters and the abiding peace of the multitudes.

I shall be liberal in ceremonies for rewarding merit, and will summon and appoint (those who are to officiate in) the chief sacrifice, and will universally arrange (those things) for which there is no prescribed law.

Your Grace's virtue sheds its radiance in all directions, and your diligence is set forth to the four quarters of the world, (so that the people) draw near, in complete submission, to welcome an effective government, which does not depart from (the methods) so extensively promulgated by Wan and Wu. I, a young man, have therefore little else to do but early and late to undertake the sacrifice.

The King continued: Your Grace's merit in aiding and cultivating me has been abundantly great, and may it thus invariably continue.

The King further said: Your Grace, I, the insignificant one, shall immediately retire and rule over Chow, and I command your Grace to continue (here at Lo).[11] The four quarters are now brought out of confusion, but we have

not yet settled upon the exalted ceremony, and we are, moreover, quite unable to make adequate acknowledgment of your Grace's merit. Do you cultivate and increase it continuously, and be an example to my officers and teachers, and extensively protect the people who received Wan and Wu (at a time of) confusion, and thus become one of the four upholders (of the dynasty).

The King continued: Your Grace must settle here, whilst I go hence. Your Grace's merit will be venerated and increased, deified and exulted in. Your Grace must not distress me, therefore, (by forsaking the Lo capital). I shall not weary of the business of tranquillising the people, and your Grace should not deprive us of your good example, so that people in all regions may for successive generations enjoy its benefit.

Chow-kung, bowing low, bent his head and said: Your Majesty has commanded me to come here and receive the protectorate of the people over whom your literary ancestor received the decree of government, together with your most glorious predecessor Wu-wang. How great should be my reverence? The young Prince should come over and inspect the capital and thoroughly examine the statutes of Yin's able people and rule by them, and thus become the new Prince of the whole country, and constitute yourself Chow's respected progenitor; and I would say that if, from this time forth, you would centralise the government (here in Lo), the numerous States would all (share in) the blessing, and your Majesty would have completed your merit.

I, Tan, together with the many nobles and heads of the departments, will abundantly (show forth) our predecessors' meritorious glory in response to the (feeling of) the multitude, thus following our Chow's accepted prototype, our illustrious Prince's example,[12] and practising our literary ancestor's virtue.

He has sent an ambassador[13] to caution the people of Yin, and has directed me to compose myself, presenting some black millet and two cups of sacrificial wine, saying: Take a pure sacrifice, bow low and make obeisance with

this excellent offering! But I, not presuming to take it for myself, forthwith offered it up to Wan-wang and Wu-wang,[14] and prayed, saying: (May he be rendered) mindful of his duty, abundantly conformable (to virtuous ways); may he be guarded from calamity and sickness, and for myriads of years renew his virtue; and may the Yin people (themselves) acknowledge him as their predecessor. Let the King send ambassadors to the Yin people that they may receive orderly (instruction), and for myriads of years they will perpetually venerate my son and esteem his virtue.

On the fifth day of the cycle the King was in the new capital, and offered up the usual sacrifice to the end of the year.[15] To Wan-wang (he offered up) one red bullock, and to Wu-wang also one red bullock. His Majesty commanded that the form of supplication should be drawn up, and Yih composed the prayer. It was declared that Chow-kung should remain (in Lo). The King's guests came to the killing of the sacrifice, and the King entered into the great hall and poured out the libation.

The King ordered Chow-kung to succeed him (in Lo). Yih composed the prayer and announced it on the twelfth month. And Chow-kung continuously protected (the people over whom) Wan and Wu had received the decree of government, for seven years.[16]

NOTES ON SECTION II

[1] It is recorded in the Chinese history that when the capital of Lo had been planned, and the chief sites established, the King (Ching-wang) sent a message to the Duke of Chow and subsequently visited the capital himself. This section, which is contained in both the texts, gives an account of what passed between the King and his Viceroy.

[2] The Duke calls the King "my son," out of affection for his nephew, and "intelligent Prince," out of respect to his kingship.

[3] This record agrees with what is said by the historians in the preceding section.

[4] Chow-kung probably used the divinations by reed which are given in the Lo Book. As having for some time had the government in hand as Regent during the period of Court mourning for Wu-wang, he would be thoroughly acquainted with the procedure on such occasions.

[5] The King had already arrived at Lo, the eastern metropolis, and had removed thither all the refractory people of Yin. Chow-kung had preceded him, for the purpose of inspecting the city, and this must therefore refer to a subsequent visit of Chow-kung to the capital of Lo, probably after its complete building.

[6] Literally, "no literature." Many of the incidents of government would, of course, be traditional, and the King would in such case follow the precedent of his father Wu-wang.

[7] Chow-kung, having returned to Chow, sent this message to the King at Lo, at the same time despatching the one hundred officers of State to attend the King.

[8] "As I did" refers to Chow's previous settlement of the territory around Lo, and the pacification of the Yin State during the time of Wu-wang. What follows indicates Chow's desire to induce the King to settle at Lo and make it his capital.

[9] Literally "time," as referring to the continuance of the dynasty of Chow.

[10] The expression "upright father" refers to the deceased Wu-wang, and is used out of compliment, although in this case sincerely also.

[11] The decree of the King, to the effect that Chow-kung should remain at Lo while he returned to Chow, is confirmed by the history, which puts the date at B.C. 1106.

[12] "Our illustrious Prince" refers to Ching-wang himself. "Our literary ancestor" is of course Wan-wang, who was and is still venerated as the patron of arts, sciences, and literature in China. He is particularly famous for his astronomical researches, the record of which in reference to

the position of the equinoxes and the obliquity of the ecliptic have been utilised by Laplace.

[13] This incident was after the return of the King to Chow, when he sent an ambassador with an offering to Chow-kung in recognition of his illustrious services.

[14] The nature of the offering was that which constituted the sacrifice to the gods, and Chow-kung therefore offered it up to the deceased rulers of Chow, not daring to take such honours upon himself.

[15] This, with what follows, is added by the historians. It is recorded that Ching-wang instituted the ancestral sacrifices at Nan-kiaou, where he founded a temple and erected a great altar.

[16] "Seven years" is evidently accounted from the time that Ching-wang took over the government of the country from Chow-kung, after the completion of mourning for Wu-wang, B.C. 1110; the date of Chow-kung's death was B.C. 1103

SECTION III

THE NUMEROUS OFFICERS

In the third month Chow-kung began in the new city of Lo to make announcements to the officers of the Shang Dynasty, saying:[1]

The King has, in effect, said: O you numerous remaining officers of Yin! We cannot but lament that the autumnal Heavens have sent down afflictions upon Yin;[2] but while we hold the decree of Chow's government, we can but enlarge Heaven's august Majesty by carrying out the royal sentences, and arranging the affairs of Yin, thus (rendering our work) complete to the Supreme.

Therefore, O you numerous officers, it is not that our small kingdom has presumed to seize the command of Yin, but that Heaven has not (continued) its aid (to Yin), and while it has refused to sanction disorderliness, has assisted us (to suppress it). We ourselves did not seek the throne!

Heaven does not aid us except when our lower people carry out the practice (of virtue), for otherwise Heaven only manifests its awfulness. I have heard it said that the Supreme Ruler leads men by gentleness, but the possessors of Hia would not be persuaded by gentleness,[3] and therefore it was that the (Supreme) Ruler sent down inflictions to warn and correct Hia. But being incapable of profiting by (Heaven's admonition), its Emperor became exceedingly dissolute and self-indulgent, and gave himself over to boast-

fulness, so that at last Heaven refused to regard or listen to him, and not only took away from him the original decree, but also sent severe chastisement upon him.

Heaven then directed your first ancestor, Ching-t'ang, to supplant Hia, (who then employed) accomplished men to govern the four quarters of the empire.

From Ching-t'ang to the time of Ti-yih (the rulers) were invariably of conspicuous virtue, and were ever mindful of the sacrifices.[4]

And thus while Heaven strongly established, protected, and regulated the possession of Yin, the Kings of Yin, at the same time, did not presume to depart from the (laws of) the Supreme Being, but invariably sustained Heaven in its shedding of benign influences (upon the people).

But in these latter days the last succeeding monarch (of Yin) failed exceedingly in the manifestation of the celestial (principles), and how much less could it be said that he had attended to or earnestly considered (the example of) former Kings of this diligent family? He was excessively reckless and self-indulgent, neither regarding Heaven's manifestations nor the supplications of the people. So that in course of time the Supreme Ruler withdrew his protection and sent down this great ruin. Heaven does not aid those who do not show forth virtue. Whenever, in whatever quarter, small or great countries are ruined, there is invariably good cause for the infliction.

The King then spoke to the following effect: O you numerous officers of Yin, it was then that our ruler of Chow very properly received (the decree of) the Supreme Being (to regulate) affairs.

But we, in this matter, have had but one object, and it is for you of the royal house (to aid us in effecting) our design. I must confess that you have overwhelmingly transgressed, and it is not that we have disturbed you, but that (the evil) has arisen in your own Capital.[5] I also, reflecting on the celestial (judgments) in regard to Yin, (perceive) that great misfortunes have (fallen upon it) because of its want of rectitude.

The King said: Behold! I announce to you numerous officers that it is now my intention to remove you to the settlement in the west. It is not that I, the solitary one, having respect to virtue, would not render you happy and comfortable, but this is Heaven's clear injunction, not to be opposed, and I would not have dared to have held back, so that you need not be incensed with me. You are aware that Yin's former rulers possessed records and statutes, and that the Yin dynasty superseded Hia's decree. And now you are saying that the officers of Hia were cultivated and appointed in the Royal Court (of Yin), having rank with their one hundred fellow-officers (and you expect Chow to do the same by Yin). But I, the one man, only have regard to the uses of virtue, and therefore I have dared to seek you in the celestial city of Shang, that I may conduct you (in the right way).[6] Thus, while I feel compassion for you, it is not my fault. It is Heaven's just decree.

The King said: You numerous officers, in past time, when I came from (the city of) Yen,[7] I greatly mitigated the sentences of the people of your four countries, and I am clearly carrying out Heaven's infliction in removing you from your distant abode in Yin and bringing you near to us, so that you may take your part in the affairs of my subjects and serve our honourable House with adequate humility.

The King continued: I announce to you, Yin's numerous officers, that now I do not intend to put you to death, but will now proclaim this new decree.

Now I have built a great city in this place of Lo. I have done so because the four regions had no (central) place for receiving guests, and also so that you numerous officers (of Shang) might fulfil your duties while going to and fro, and serve me with proper humility. Here you may still possess your lands, and still peacefully pursue your work to the end of your days.[8] If you are capable of respectfulness, Heaven will aid and compassionate you; but if you are incapable of respectfulness, not only will you lose your territory, but I will also inflict Heaven's chastisement on your own persons.

Now you may at once occupy your city and continually abide therein, pursue your avocations, and attain to years in this city of Lo, and your little ones' prosperity will follow your change of position.

The King, concluding, said: This is the substance of what I have to say regarding your (change of) residence.

NOTES ON SECTION III

This section is contained in both the texts. The subject has already been referred to in previous sections, and concerns the removal of the refractory people and officers of Yin to the city of Lo, where they were put under the government of Chow-kung.

[1] What follows is a report of the King's speech to the officers of Yin, who, in the previous section, are spoken of as having been marshalled by Chow-kung and sent to the King (Ching-wang) at Chow. The date is April, B.C. 1107.

[2] The autumn was the season for punishing offenders, and it is therefore said that "the autumnal heavens" sent down affliction upon Yin.

[3] The expression "Heaven leads men by gentleness" is a favourite axiom of the Taoists. It is said that "rigidity and strength are the concomitants of death, but softness and gentleness are the companions of life" (*Tao-teh-king*, LXXVI.).

[4] From Ching-tang to Ti-yih was a period of over six hundred years. T'ang was the founder of the Shang dynasty, and Ti-yih was the last but one of the same dynasty. Chow-sin, or Show, was the "last succeeding monarch of Yin" referred to in the next paragraph.

[5] This refers to the insurrection at Yin shortly after the accession of Ching-wang.

[6] Ching-wang, while unable to appoint the Princes of Yin to offices under the Chow dynasty, was yet desirous of reforming them and making good citizens of them.

[7] Yen was a city of Shang. The people of the "four

countries" were those who had rebelled under the three governors of Yin, uncles of the Emperor Ching-wang, and Wu-kung, the son of the tyrant Show.

[8] "To the end of your days" is literally *chey*, a stopping-place. The sentence immediately following is parallel to the Taoistic saying: Heaven has no favourites; it always aids the good man.

SECTION IV

AGAINST LUXURY [1]

CHOW-KUNG said: Yea, verily! A chief should set himself against luxurious ease. Let him first know the difficulties of agriculture, and then the luxurious ease (which follows it), and forthwith he will know what the small man's dependence (is vested in).

Let him observe that among the lower people the parents diligently bestir themselves in husbandry, while the children, not knowing the hardships of such work, indulge in ease, and, acquiring loose phrases, become dissolute; or if not, then they despise their parents, and say: These old people have not learned what knowledge is.

Chow-kung continued: I have heard it said that, formerly among the Kings of Yin, Chung-tsung was severe, respectful, reverential, and fearful of Heaven's decree; he regulated himself and governed the people with godly awe and did not dare to (indulge in) neglectful repose.

Therefore Chung-tsung's enjoyment of his country (was extended to) seventy years.[2]

Likewise in regard to Kaou-tsung, who in his day was for some time compelled to labour diligently in foreign parts with the lower class until he ascended the throne, when he remained in twilight obscurity for three years without speaking; and because he refused to speak, his words were the more efficacious (when heard). He likewise

did not dare to (indulge in) neglectful repose, but gloriously outmarshalled the Yin country to such effect that among both great and humble at no time was there even a murmur. Therefore Kaou-tsung's enjoyment of his country (extended over) fifty-nine years.[3]

So also in regard to Tsu-kia, who thought himself not justified in being King, and for a long while remained as a private individual; so that when he at last ascended the throne he had acquired a knowledge of the poor man's means of subsistence, and was thus able to protect and nourish all the people. He did not dare to despise the destitute and the widows. Therefore Tsu-kia's enjoyment of the kingdom was thirty-three years.[4]

From that time forth the enthroned Kings gave themselves over to luxury; and thus living in luxury, they did not know the hardships of common toil, and were unaware of the labours of the lower people while they followed (their own) voluptuous pleasures; and from that time forth there also were none who attained to length of years, some (ruling) for ten years, others for seven or eight years, some for five or six years, and others for four or three years.[5]

Chow-kung continued: Verily! There were also of the Chow dynasty Tai-wang and Wang-kwei, who were capable of conducting themselves humbly and fearingly.[6] Wan-wang was content with moderate apparel, and gave chief attention to the meritorious work of tranquillising and cultivating the people. He was refined, adaptable, admirable, and respectful, and had regard to the protecting of the people, showing kindness to the destitute and lonely. From early morn till noon, and even till late in the day, he did not rest from his labours even to take food, but solely devoted himself to the work of harmonising the myriads of people. Wan-wang did not dare to expend money on the chase, so that he (only had to tax) the various States with their just dues. Wan-wang only received the decree in middle life, and yet he enjoyed the dominion for fifty years.[7]

Chow-kung continued: Yes, indeed! From henceforth let successive Kings accord with him in avoiding excessive

travelling and luxury, rambling about and hunting, so that the populace may be (taxed) only with their just dues. Let not the Princes say: To-day we will give ourselves up to voluptuous pleasures! For this would not be what the people could take instruction from, nor what Heaven would sanction; while men generally might fail by reason of their bad example. Be not therefore like unto Yin's ruler Show, who was dismayed and confused and rendered insane by the influence of wine.

Chow-kung continued: Verily! I have heard it said that men of olden time duly counselled and informed one another (that they) protected and cherished and taught and petitioned one another, so that none among the people (were addicted) to the seduction, deception, or cheating of their fellows.

If you do not hearken to this (counsel), then men will criticise you and will throw into disorder and confusion the righteous laws of former Kings, until both small and great among the people will be neglected, and their minds will be rebellious and hateful; and being still disregarded, their mouths will (be filled) with cursing and abuse.

Chow-kung added: Yes, indeed! From among the Kings of Yin, Chung-tsung, Kaou-tsung, Tsu-kia, and of our Chow dynasty Wan-wang, these four men, having cultivated wisdom, if anyone announced to them, saying: The lower people murmur at you and blame you! then these Princes, out of respect to virtue, rebuked themselves, and said: It is our fault!

When things were thus it was no wonder that men did not dare to harbour resentment.

If you do not listen to this (advice) men will probably practise deception and trickery, saying: The people murmur against you and scandalise you! and you, believing them, and not constantly reflecting on your sovereign duties and not being moved by liberal feelings, would confusedly punish the innocent and slay the righteous, so that the complaint would become as actual (as reported) and fall upon your own person.

Chow-kung concluded: Yes, indeed! Let successive Kings pay particular attention to this!

NOTES ON SECTION IV

[1] This section is contained in both the ancient and modern texts. The book was composed by Chow-kung for the instruction of the Emperor Ching-wang, whose youth and disposition were likely to lead him to luxurious excesses.

[2] Chung-tsung (Master of the Due Medium) was the same as Tai-wu, and began to reign in B.C. 1635. He observed the Path of Moderation, sometimes called the Middle Path or the Due Medium. Hence the title. He personally cultivated virtue, and took great care of the aged and poor, making continual enquiries concerning those who were sick and bereft. He owed much of the success of his reign to the ministry of E-tseih. During his reign over seventy States sent ambassadors to his Court, and interpreters were used.

[3] Kaou-tsung is the same as Wu-ting. He began to reign in B.C. 1322, and received the honorific title of "Exalted Master" (see Book III., Section XII., "Yueh's Decree").

[4] Tsu-kia began to reign in B.C. 1256, and was contemporary with Tan-fuh, the old Duke of Chow, who died during the reign.

[5] The Prime Minister of Ching-wang is not quite accurate in his statement of the succeeding reigns after the time of Tsu-kia. Thus Kang-ting, the next but one to succeed Tsu-kia, reigned for twenty-one years; and Ti-yih, the last but one of the dynasty, reigned for thirty-seven years; while the tyrant Show, a most dissolute and debauched man, reigned for thirty-two years, and was overthrown by Wu-wang, as already recited in the text of this work. Chow-kung must therefore be taken as referring to general principles, and not to special instances, for the illustration of his argument. There were only six Emperors from Tsu-kia to the end of the dynasty,

which no doubt was hastened by disregard of the people's condition and indulgence in luxury and ease.

[6] Tai-wang was the name of the old Duke Tan of Chow, and Wang-kwei was the name of his son Kwei-lieh, who succeeded him. It is related that the two elder brothers of Wang-kwei, knowing that their father wished to pass the Dukedom on to his son Kwei, made a pretence of gathering herbs in foreign countries, and went away as soon as the old Duke fell mortally ill. Thus the throne was left open to Kwei-lieh, who became the Lord Superintendent of the Empire under the Emperor Ti-yih. His son Chang (Wan-wang) succeeded him to the Dukedom of Chow, and was in turn succeeded by Wu-wang, who conquered Shang and founded the Imperial dynasty of Chow.

[7] Wan-wang was forty-six years of age when he succeeded his father Wang-kwei (Kwei-lieh), and was ninety-six years of age when he died in B.C. 1133.

SECTION V

PRINCE SHIH [1]

CHOW-KUNG spoke to the following effect, saying: Prince Shih! Alas! Heaven has sent down ruin on Yin, and Yin having lost its decree, and we of the Chow dynasty having received it instead, yet I should not dare of my own knowledge to affirm that our inheritance is perpetually endowed with excellence; and even though Heaven should aid us in very deed, yet still I would not dare to positively say that our end would be due to misfortune only.

Verily! your Highness has yourself said: It is due to ourselves! I also do not dare to depend wholly on the decree of the Supreme Ruler, and thus fail continually in far-reaching considerations of the dread majesty of Heaven, nor (dare I) suppose that our people would never turn and rebel. It is (a matter which depends mainly) on the individual, and if, after the completion of our tenure (of office) our succeeding children and grandchildren should be greatly incapable of respect towards (Heaven) above (and man) below, and thus bedim and become errant from the glory of their predecessors, (could we) of this House remain in ignorance of it? (To preserve) the decree of Heaven is no easy matter, and (the will of) Heaven is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, when the decree is lost (it is because) of our inability to effectively emulate and succeed to the reverential and conspicuous virtue of our predecessors.

At the present time, I, the insignificant Tan, am incapable of setting things straight, but I would cultivate the glory of our predecessors and extend it to our youthful lord. And I repeat that as Heaven cannot enter into our argument, our course is to extend the virtue of the tranquillising King, so that Heaven may not have cause to annul the decree received by Wan-wang.[2]

The Duke continued: Prince Shih! I have heard that in former times, when Ching-T'ang received his decree, there were at that time men such as E-yun who attained to (the notice of) Imperial Heaven. In the days of Tai-kia there was still the same upholder of the balance of power.[3] In the time of Tai-wuh there were such as E-chih and Chin-huh, who appealed to the Supreme Ruler, while Wuh-hsien governed the royal household. In the time of Tsu-yih there was such a man as Wuh-hien, and in the time of Wu-ting there then existed Kan-puon. These men, following out (the example of their predecessors), are they who have attained to distinction in the protection and government of the Yin possession; and therefore in the ceremonials of Yin they were elevated to the celestial degree for many successive years, during which (the dynasty continued). While Heaven especially favoured their decree, the dynasty of Shang was accordingly replenished. The one hundred men of quality[4] who served the King invariably maintained their virtue, and were conspicuously anxious (as to their duties); and the inferior subjects under the protection of the frontier marquisates, how much more did they hasten to the public service! So greatly was virtue thus esteemed, and the sovereign disposed to good government, that when the solitary man had important affairs (on hand) in any part of the kingdom, it would seem that the divinations and prognostics were invariably true.

The Duke continued: Prince Shih! Heaven bestowed length of days upon those who equably and effectively protected and governed the Yin possession, but the last of that dynasty (experienced) Heaven's awful desolation.[5] Now if you perpetually consider this, you will accordingly

have a settled decree to enlighten the confusion of this, our newly-founded country.

The Duke continued: Prince Shih! In bygone days the Supreme Ruler arrested (the Yin dynasty), and divinely inspired the virtue of the tranquillising King, confirming the great decree upon his person. And Wân-wang was constantly enabled to adorn and harmonise this our land of Hia; and, moreover, he possessed such men as Ki-shuh, Hwung-yaou, San-i-sang, Tae-tien, and Nan-kung-kwo.

Furthermore, he said: If these had not been able to come to him and thus inculcate the general principles of instruction, Wân-wang would have lacked the virtue which he has transmitted to the people of his country. Moreover, it was by a particular favour (of Heaven) that (these men) maintained their virtue and cultivated a knowledge of Heaven's majesty, and thus they carried out Wân-wang's perspicuous principles, which gathered force until they were heard by the Supreme Ruler; and so in due time he received the decree (formerly) possessed by the Yin dynasty.

Wu-wang, with the help of these four men,[6] constantly cultivated the attainment of godly possessions. Later on, they, together with Wu-wang, greatly availed themselves of Heaven's majesty and entirely reduced their enemies. Thus these four men rendered Wu-wang illustrious, so that his virtue, overspreading (the land), was greatly extended and applauded.

Now in regard to myself, the insignificant Tan, I feel as if drifting on a great river, and (that if) I go in company with you, O Shih, I shall navigate successfully. Our young lord has not as yet occupied the throne;[7] and this greatly increases our responsibility. But without effort we cannot achieve (our purpose), and the anciently-founded methods will not be transmitted (to the King). I shall not then hear the song of the bird of good omen; and much less shall we be able to say that the dynasty can be extended.

The Duke continued: O Prince Shih! do you therefore carefully look into this matter. The decree which we have received is not interminable, although excellent, and

there are, moreover, many difficulties attaching to it. I would urge your Highness to endeavour to be liberal-minded, for we should not allow our successors to become scattered and obscure.

The Duke continued: Our late chief opened out his heart to you and imposed on you a special command, making you the chief of his subjects, saying: Do you conspicuously and energetically enlist yourself (in the service of) the King, and continue in the sincere endeavour to maintain this great decree, and by the virtue of Wan-wang largely participate in his interminable anxieties.

The Duke continued: Prince! I will speak to you in my sincerest manner, and do you, Paou-shih,[8] as far as you can, respect it. I take for my mirror the ruin of Yin, (which resulted from) its great heresy, and forthwith ponder deeply on our Celestial Ruler's majesty. I should not be sincere if in this announcement I did not say that (the future of this dynasty) chiefly depends upon us two. Do you agree with this statement and admit that it rests at present with us two? Heaven's blessings will then so richly accrue upon us two men, that we shall scarce sustain them! If you can respect virtue, and discern our talented people, you will deliver your successors over to prosperous times. Yes, indeed! We two have in our day abundantly assisted (our sovereigns), and thus have been enabled to arrive at this present day of prosperity! Let us then both complete the meritorious work of Wân-wang by our unremitting efforts; and so greatly overspread the limits of the sea (and the land of) the rising sun[9] that there shall not be (any who are) not led into submission.

The Duke added: O Prince! I may appear unreasonable in thus making so many announcements, but I am greatly concerned in regard to the celestial decree and (the welfare of) the people.

The Duke concluded by saying: Verily! O Prince! You are acquainted with the people's methods; and, moreover, none of them are incapable at the beginning. It is the end (which is of chief importance). Devoutly comply

with these (suggestions); go, and respectfully exercise your government.

NOTES ON SECTION V

This section is contained in both the ancient and modern texts. It is recorded in the Chinese history that during the reign of Ching-wang, in the year B.C. 1113, the Duke of Chaou (Shaou) was one of the three Regents of the country. From the Shen district westward Shaou was the Regent, and from Shen (in Ho-nan) eastward the Duke of Chow (Chow-kung) was the Regent. It appears that the Duke of Shaou was somewhat suspicious of Chow-kung's power over the young King, and was about to retire on the grounds of his old age, when Chow-kung composed this address to him, and so retained his services in the State.

[1] Chow-kung calls the Duke of Chaou "Prince" out of compliment to his position and years. Shih was the personal name of the Duke of Chaou, his full appellation being Shih, Duke of Chaou (sometimes called Shaou).

[2] Chow-kung professes inability to govern the country alone and to set matters straight in order to induce Shaou to continue in office. The tranquillising King is Wu-wang, who received his decree in virtue of the people and Princes having reverted to his father Wan-wang, from whom the decree of Chow is presumed to date.

[3] The argument here is that even the best of rulers cannot govern the country without trustworthy Ministers, and this was a particular reason for Shaou remaining in office during the minority of the King. "The Upholder of the Balance of Power," or the Maintainer of the Equilibrium, refers to E-yun, the Prime Minister of two Kings of Shang. The Balance of Power here referred to is that which subsists between the people and the King, and between the Emperor and Deity. When the people obey the will of Heaven as conveyed through the Son of Heaven (the Emperor), then there is a balance of power, the celestial

virtue flowing in without obstruction; but when the people resist the Will of Heaven, or when it is unfaithfully interpreted to the people by their rulers, then the equilibrium of the celestial and natural is destroyed.

[4] "The one hundred men of quality" are the one hundred officers of State, mostly men of rank and influence.

[5] This refers to Chow-sin or Show the tyrant, the last of the Shang dynasty.

[6] "These four men" does not include the name of Kih-shuh, as that Minister was already deceased in the time of Wu-wang.

[7] The Emperor Ching-wang was at this time only thirteen years of age, and it was not until the summer of the same year, B.C. 1113, that he was invested with the royal robes and duly enthroned. It is to be noted that this section is chronologically disarranged, the announcement at Lo having followed the investiture of the King by some six years.

[8] Paou-shih, *i.e.*, Protector Shih, is a title of the Duke of Shaou, who was officially known as the Great Protector.

[9] The expression "che-ji" (the rising sun) is equivalent to our expression "the Far East."

SECTION VI

TSAE-CHUNG'S DECREE

When Chow-kung was in office as Prime Minister and Regulator of the one hundred officers, the royal uncles circulated seditions as to the matter of carrying out the law upon Kwan-shuh at Shang, restricting Tsae-shuh to the borders of his principality, allowing him to maintain seven chariots only, and the degradation of Ho-shuh to the rank of a plebeian for three years before again ennobling him.[1] Tsae-chung (at that time) was capable of devout virtue. Therefore Chow-kung caused him (to be appointed) as an officer of the State, and when Shuh died it was decreed by the King's command that he should rule over Tsae.[2]

The King in effect said: Young man Huh. You have shown yourself capable of following out virtuous and respectful living, and are capable of caution in your methods of action. Therefore I decree that you become Earl of the Eastern Territory. Go then to the district to which you are hereby appointed and observe respectful caution.[3]

Just as you would have obliterated your progenitor's faults by steadfastness and filial piety, so you may overcome all defects in your own person if you are capable of unremitting diligence, and so that you may hand down your example to posterity, you should follow your ancestor Wan-wang's perspicuous instructions and avoid imitating your progenitor's disobedience of the royal commands.

Imperial Heaven has no predilections. It always allies itself to the virtuous.[4] The affections of the people are not invariable, but they are always subject to the considerate (man). Acts of goodness are not all alike, but they all are conducive to good government. Vices are of various kinds, but they all tend to produce confusion. Be therefore on the alert. Be careful at the beginning as of the end (in view), and the result will not then be distressful. But if you do not have regard to the end, then the result will only be fatigue and exhaustion. Be continually alive to the accomplishment of self-control, maintain peace with your neighbours,[5] conserve the royal connections, harmonise the seniors and juniors (of the families), and tranquillise and marshal the lesser people.

Follow out, for yourself, the path of moderation,[6] and do not affect illumination for the confusing of old-established regulations. Criticise whatever you see and hear, and do not be premature in the expression of your opinions, or change the regulations, and then I, the solitary man, shall have cause to congratulate you.

NOTES ON SECTION VI

This section is only contained in the ancient text. The incident here mentioned, *i.e.*, the appointment of Chung to the rulership of Tsae in place of his deceased father Tsae-shuh, who was an uncle of the Emperor Ching-wang. The section is remarkable for the good advice that the young Emperor, then in his twenty-first year, gave to his cousin Huh.

[1] The banishment of Tsae-shuh to the borders of his principality took place in B.C. 1111. The borders of the principality are called Ko-lin, and the Chinese history says that Tsae was imprisoned there, speaking of Ko-lin as if it were a definite place. The same history records that Kwan-shuh was put to death in Shang, and this is what is meant by "carrying out the law" upon him.

[2] Tsae-chung, or Chung of Tsae, was the son of Tsae-shuh, the son of Wan-wang and brother of Wu-wang. His father was released from his exile in B.C. 1108, and died in B.C. 1106, whereupon Chung was appointed to again take possession of the Eastern territory.

[3] Huh was the personal name of Chung. The district over which he was appointed to rule was the Tsae province of Ho-nan, south of the Ho or Yellow River.

[4] This phrase is exactly, or almost exactly, reproduced in the *Tao-teh-king* (Chapter LXXIX.), which says: The Tao of Heaven has no favourites. It always aids the good man.

[5] The expression "*tse lin*," lit. four borders, refers to the States which bordered the Tsae district in various directions.

[6] The word "*chung*" is constantly used in connection with the path of rectitude, and is literally the Middle Path or Path of Moderation.

SECTION VII

THE NUMEROUS REGIONS[1]

In the fifth month, on the twenty-fourth day of the cycle, the King went from Yen to Tsung-Chow.[2]

Chow-kung said: The King has sanctioned (the following) proclamation: Ho! Be it made known to you four countries and the numerous regions, that in regard to the Yin Marquises, Princes, and their people, I have greatly remitted your decreed penalties, of which you will not be ignorant. You counted altogether upon the decree of Heaven without perpetually and earnestly paying attention to the sacrifices.[3]

Formerly the (Supreme) Ruler sent down calamities on Hia, when the possessor of Hia was exceedingly self-indulgent and would not commiserate the people, and being very dissolute and thoughtless, was unable, even for a single day, to rouse himself to the duties of an Emperor. So much you will have heard.

He counted upon the Imperial commands, and while conceding nothing towards the people's support, he greatly brought down inflictions upon them, and so largely increased the confusion (already existing) in the land of Hia.

The causes (of these troubles) were set up by internal disorders (in the government), by which he was rendered incapable of properly receiving (the respect of) the multitudes, while he himself did not sufficiently proffer respect nor show liberal condescension to the people. Moreover, there

were people of the Hia country who were covetous and cruel, and were yet daily appointed to inflict penalties and death in the Hia capital.[4]

It was then that Heaven sought a ruler for the people, and largely conferred the manifestation of the excellent decree upon Ching-T'ang (for the purpose of) scourging and cutting off the Hia dynasty. Heaven did not so abundantly confer (this decree) except for the sake of the righteous people of the numerous regions who could not continue to extend their loyalty, while Hia's respected officers were altogether unable to intelligently protect and be of service to the people, so that there was mutual oppression among them, so that even of the one hundred (officers) (there was none) who was able to carry out (the decree of Heaven).

It was only Ching-T'ang who was capable of taking control of your numerous regions, being selected in place of Hia to effect the rule of the people. He was careful of their livelihood, and stimulated the people by his example and made them industrious.

Until the time of the Emperor Yih, (the rulers of Yin) invariably illustrated virtue, and were careful in inflicting punishments, and were, moreover, capable of stimulating (their subjects). In important criminal cases, they exterminated and slew (those who were) confirmed criminals, by which also they were enable to energise (the people); they granted liberty to those who were guiltless, and this was also a cause of encouragement (to the people).

But now, in regard to your (late) sovereign,[5] he was incapable of governing your numerous States or of enjoying Heaven's decree.

Verily! the King has said in effect: Tell your numerous regions that it was not that Heaven had any intention of deposing the Hia dynasty, nor that Heaven expressly sought to degrade the State of Yin. But it was your sovereign who perverted your numerous regions with great dissoluteness, and counted upon (the continuance of) Heaven's decree, while he made light of the laws of the State. For it was that he, the ruler of the Flowery Kingdom, calculated upon

(perpetuating) his government without contributing to its welfare, so that Heaven sent down in due time the ruin (of his country), and (raised up) another family in his stead. Thus it was that, because your Shang's latter King gave himself up to excessive luxury, and speculated on (the continuance of) his government in continual corruption, that Heaven sent down this timely affliction.

Even a sage without due thought may effect a folly, while a fool who can reflect may become a sage. So Heaven was (patient with him) for the space of five years, having regard to his posterity who might produce a fit ruler for the people. But Show would neither think nor listen.[6]

Then Heaven sought among your many regions, bestirring you by its awfulness to produce someone who might receive the recognition of Heaven, but among all your numerous regions there was found none who was worthy of its regard. It was our Chow rulers alone who were found worthy of receiving the host, and were capable of adequately employing virtue according to the laws of divine Heaven.

Therefore Heaven duly instructed our (Princes) in uses of excellence, and selected them to be invested with Yin's decree and rule over your numerous regions.

Now why should I presume to extend these my announcements, save that I have greatly mitigated the sentences of the people of your four countries? Why do you not sincerely try to enrich your numerous States? Why do you not come forward and assist the government of our King of Chow, who enjoys the celestial decree? Now that you are still permitted to reside in your homes and cultivate your lands, why do you not comply with the King and minister to the will of Heaven?

But you are constantly following listless ways, your minds being devoid of self-respect, and you utterly fail to abide in the decrees of Heaven, but (on the contrary) reject the celestial commands and give yourselves to the practice of unlawful things, while you trade upon the sincerity of the upright!

On this account I have therefore instructed and warned

you, and on this account I have reluctantly taken the chief offenders and imprisoned them. And this I have done on more than one occasion. But if there should be no use in my having commuted your sentences, then I shall for that reason have great occasion to chastise you to the uttermost degree. It is not that we of the Chow country would maintain a principle of non-tranquillity, but it is that you yourselves rush upon crime (to your own hurt).

The King said: Verily! I announce to you officers of the numerous States, together with Yin's many officers, that now you have been to and fro in the service of our inspectors for five years, and, moreover, having your several respective Princes and numerous regulators of affairs, both great and small, you should not fail to accomplish your self-perfection.

Lest your personal conduct should be inharmonious, you should pay attention to harmonious action; and lest in your families there be a want of concord, you should observe cordiality. Then your cities will be illustrious and abundantly capable in (the conduct of) their affairs.

And if you would further avoid a faulty method, then you will accordingly observe mutual respectfulness in (the duties of) your stations, and be accessible to your citizens, so that you may count upon their aid.

You may still continue in this city of Lo and cultivate your fields, and Heaven may be will confer its compassion on you, while our possession of Chow will likewise materially aid and befriend you, advancing and selecting you in the royal court, furthering your affairs in those who have been dutiful in great functions.

The King said: Indeed, you numerous officers! If you cannot be urged to respect my decrees, you will accordingly also be unable to pay court, and all the people will then be saying: Let us not pay court! Should you become luxurious and perverse, thus greatly offending against the royal decree, your numerous regions will accordingly bring down Heaven's awfulness, and I shall forthwith carry out the celestial inflictions and exile you far from your territory.

The King said: I would not add to my announcements,

but that I devoutly wish to make known to you my decrees, and will merely add that from this day you commence anew; and if you are incapable of paying due respect to concord, do not at all events blame me.

NOTES ON SECTION VII

General Note.—This section follows chronologically after Section I. of this book. It concerns the time when the Duke of Chaou had completed the city of Lo (B.C. 1106). The King then paid a visit to the capital, and removed the refractory people of Yin thither, so that they might be under the immediate government of Chow-kung, whom he invested with viceregal powers. After the King's return to the western capital, the Viceroy assembled the officers and nobility of the four territories that had recently revolted, and addressed them as detailed in this chapter.

[1] The "Numerous Regions" were those principalities, marquisates, and baronies of Yin mentioned in the first section of this Book. There were three great principalities of Yin, and the whole of the Hwae-i and Tsiu-jung territories engaged in the revolt, and the numerous regions of these extensive territories, all contributed to the general disorder. The title of the section is taken from the words *Toh Fung* which appear in the text.

[2] Tsung-Chow, *i.e.*, the Honour of Chow, was a name given to the western metropolis. The capital on the Lo River was originally called Ching-Chow, *i.e.*, the Completion of Chow.

[3] The grace of God is not to be counted upon, save by those who have earned the right to Heaven's recognition. The celestial benediction may be received, but its continuance is a matter which depends upon individual worthiness. Heaven scatters the seeds of good in all directions with a lavish hand, but the ground it falls upon is not uniformly conducive to its development. To count upon the favour of Heaven is not in itself sufficient for public prosperity, but a

liberal use of benefits received is also essential, subject to the dedication of such use to the service of God. This is why the omission of the sacrifices is particularly mentioned in this connection.

[4] Regarding the indictment against Show, the reader is referred to Section XII. of the Fourth Book.

[5] The late sovereign of the Shang dynasty is of course the tyrant Show. The expression "capable of enjoying Heaven's decree" may be rendered: "capable of paying court to the will of Heaven." The same character may be rendered either "enjoyment" or "gracious submission" or "paying court."

[6] The "five years" here mentioned appear to date from the revolt of the Princes of the Empire (B.C. 1125) to the downfall of the Shang dynasty in the defeat of Show by Wu-wang (B.C. 1120).

SECTION VIII

THE ESTABLISHING OF GOVERNMENT[1]

CHOW-KUNG spoke to the following effect: When bowing low and making obeisance at the proclamation of Heaven's Son, the newly enthroned ruler, all possible instruction was rendered to the King by what was said by his Majesty's attendants, his noble retainers, the regular officials, the magistrates, the Master of the Robes, and the Chief of the Archers and Charioteers. (On this occasion) Chow-kung said:[2]

Verily! These are all excellent officers; but how few know (how to show) anxiety in their appointment!

Ancient men cultivated (this carefulness) in the days of the Hia dynasty, whose house was in the most prosperous condition when they showed a preference for men of talent who acknowledged the Supreme Ruler.[3] These men cultivated knowledge, and were sincerely respectful of the practice of the Nine Virtues,[4] while they showed courage in informing and instructing their Prince, saying: Most worshipful sovereign! It should be said that (in regard to) the appointing of men of affairs, the superintendents and administrators, this is a princely prerogative. But if you rely solely on appearances to render all possible instruction in virtue, then these three offices (will fall to) unsuitable persons. Kia's method was not to employ those who had already been in office, but only those who (were capable of) harsh methods. Hence he had no successor.[5]

Also there was Ching-T'ang, who took steps to greatly disseminate the Supreme Ruler's glorious decrees, and in making use of the three officers he appointed only those of recognised ability; (and the same may be said) of the three orders of talent; (he recognised only) that talent which was capable and efficient. He rigidly adhered only to that which was altogether exemplary, and was thus capable of making use of the three officers and the three kinds of talent. Similarly in the city of Shang, he rendered strenuous service to his own capital and also in all quarters (of the country), thus affording a great example of conspicuous virtue.

Alas! with regard to Show, whose methods were so excessive, it was he who advanced murderers and men of tyrannical habits and allied them to the State, and only those who were altogether abandoned were associated with him in the government. The (Supreme) Ruler then appointed his punishment, and despatched us to take possession of Hia, and to take over the decree of Shang, giving shelter and peace to the numerous clans.

Furthermore, there were also Wan-wang and Wu-wang, who fully understood the hearts of the three superior officers, and clearly perceived the minds of the three grades of talented men; and in respectfully (enacting) the purposes of the Supreme Ruler, they established over the people elders and lords. In establishing government, (Wan-wang) appointed men as controllers and superintendents to effect the three kinds of business, the Archer and Charioteer, the Master of the Robes, the Master of the Horse, the Master of the Household, the Attendants and Superintendent of the Servants, the one hundred Mandarins and all the Treasurers; the Chiefs of the greater and lesser cities, the Priests, the one hundred grades of external Ministers, the Great Historian, and the Princes of the departments—all old and well-tried officers.[6] Also (among the Princes) there was the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Public Works, with their secondaries and their subordinates. There were also

(the State officials) of the E, Wei, Lu, and Ching districts, and the Chiefs of the Pan district.

Thus Wan-wang was enabled (to enter into) the feelings of his appointed officers, and was capable of establishing the regular Ministers of affairs and the superintendents, so that he could make use of the talents of those who possessed virtue. Wan-wang did not, however, officially interfere with their numerous proclamations, their various judgments, and several prohibitions, but these things were left to the Ministers in office and their superintendents, who were (responsible for) instructing (the people) in matters of use and avoidance.[7] And as to the numerous judicial regulations and various prohibitions, Wan-wang did not presume to have any knowledge of these.[8]

Moreover, as regards Wu-wang, who followed out the tranquillising work (already instituted), he did not dare to supersede the just and virtuous (officers aleady appointed); but he followed out their designs and practised the virtue of forbearance, so that he thoroughly established and consolidated this exceeding great inheritance.

Yes, indeed! O young Prince who art now enthroned! Let us therefore henceforth establish the government and settle the affairs of the comptrollers and superintendents. Let us endeavour to understand clearly their suitability, and then extensively employ them to adjust the disorders and to give assistance to the people whom we have received (the decree to govern), harmonising our various judicial regulations and several prohibitions, and then let us not interfere with them.[9]

From a single rebuke or a single statement (such interference may originate); therefore let us finally select these men of perfect virtue, and then rely on them to govern the people whom we have received.

Verily, I, Tan, having myself received these excellent precepts from other men, make announcement of them all to you, O young Prince now enthroned; and therefore from henceforth do you, accomplished son and cultured grandson (of Wan-wang and Wu-wang), avoid interference with the

various judicial regulations and the several prohibitions, but let the correct functionaries do their own work.

From ancient times the men of Shang, as also our Wan-wang of the Chow dynasty, in establishing government and settling affairs, (appointed) superintendents and comptrollers, whom they established in office, and were able to cultivate their good qualities, and thus arranged the government (of the country).

A country, however, will fail to have an established government if it employs flatterers, or those who are not instructed in virtue, or who are not distinguished by their generations.[10] Therefore, from henceforth, in establishing government, do not pay heed to flatterers, but only to honest workers whom you can use to stimulate and assist our country's royal house.

Now, accomplished son and grandson, young Prince enthroned, do not (make the mistake) of interfering with the various judicial regulations, but leave them to the Ministers in office and their superintendents. And they can also prescribe a military equipment, so that you may follow in the footsteps of Yu. Then throughout every quarter under the heavens, even to the borders of the seas, there will be none who are not invested with the purpose of showing forth the radiant glories of Wan-wang, and of disseminating Wu-wang's great efficiency.

Yes, indeed! From henceforth may successive rulers establish the government! and may they show capacity in the employment of steadfast men!

Chow-kung, in effect, added: O Tai-shih![11] (there was) the Minister of Justice, Suh-kung, as an example of respectful caution to you in the use of judicial regulations; and if you would prolong our Empire, take him for your model, and be ever careful in the use of temperate punishments.

NOTES ON SECTION VIII

This section is found in both the ancient and modern texts. It concerns the transactions of the Prime Minister

Chow-kung, immediately subsequent to the enthronement of the young King Ching-wang, and most probably on the instance of Chow-kung resigning the government into his hands, which took place in the winter of B.C. 1110. Chow-kung's advice to the King is the subject of this section.

[1] The title of this section is taken from a constantly-recurring phrase in the text.

[2] What follows constitutes the Historian's report of what was said by the Prime Minister to the young King on his taking over the government of the country, after the expiry of the three years' mourning for his father Wu-wang.

[3] The illustrious dynasty of Hia was characterised by its adherence to the principles of government instituted by the patriarchal Kings, and which were denominated the Tao-teh. In those days the public officers were chosen not for their ability alone, but for their combined talent and godliness. We have instances in the course of this historical classic of near relatives of the Rulers of Hia having been disqualified for succession to the throne by their lack of ability, of virtue, or of both. Thus the good Yaou was elected to succeed the Emperor Che. Yaou disqualified his son Chu, and gave the throne to Yiu Yu (Shun), who was a wise and virtuous ruler. He in turn gave the Empire over to the great Yu, a man of unflagging zeal and rigorous simplicity of life.

[4] The Nine Virtues have reference to the nine relationships and the princely perfections, the Eightfold Path of perfectability, culminating in Self-Perfection (see the diagram of the Nine Classifications, Book IV., Section VI., "The Great Plan").

[5] The Emperor Kia was the last of the Hia dynasty, and his persecution of his subjects was so severe and unremitting that they collectively besought T'ang to liberate them from the yoke of his oppression.

[6] The three kinds of business were connected with Public Instruction, Public Defence, and Public Works. The three chief Ministers under the Prime Minister were the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War, and the Comptroller

of Public Works. These, together with the Great Historian and other officers and attendants of the Court, would all have been present on the occasion of the King's investiture. It was customary in ancient times to give the chief offices of State to old and well-tried men. When in later days the successive rulers allowed favouritism and flattery to bias them in their appointment of officers, the kingdom fell into anarchy and confusion.

[7] Wan-wang, having taken great care in the selection of his Ministers of State, did not afterwards interfere with their mandates and activities, but allowed them free scope for the exercise of their talents and their virtue. This method is what the Chinese have called "the complete beginning."

[8] The expression "Wan-wang did not presume to have any knowledge of these," refers to the "complete-beginning" method mentioned above, to which this statement is in apposition. He knew the men who were issuing the regulations and prohibitions, and that was enough for one who had all his own work to attend to. In other words, Wan-wang was careful of general principles and good beginnings, and had a royal disregard for details and methods of action which had already been entrusted to his officers.

[9] Chow-kung, in endeavouring to impress the young King with the right principles of establishing a good government, shows that it is first essential to make a wise and careful choice of Ministers, and then afterwards to exercise forbearance and confidence towards them.

[10] The expression "those who are not distinguished by their generations," refers to those men who are not held in public esteem for their years and long service to the country.

[11] Tai-shih, or the Great Historian, was the same who is the author of this section of the *Shu king*. It is known from Chinese history that, on this occasion, Yih was the name of the Historian addressed by the Prime Minister. It is natural to suppose that Chow-kung would appeal personally to the Historian when referring to an old example of careful administration of justice, such as was to be found

in the history of Suh-kung. Suh was a district in Kiang-nan, and its Duke was evidently a man of exceptional discretion. At court the Tai-szu, or Great Historian, stood behind the King to furnish such historical records as might be required. The Prime Minister stood before the King, and his two chief Ministers, the Minister of Instruction and Minister of War, on his left and right. On this occasion these places were filled by Yih, Chow-kung, Tai-kung, and Shaou-kung.

BOOK VI

THE BOOK OF CHOW—PART III

SECTION I

THE OFFICERS OF CHOW

Now the King of Chow pacified the numerous States and surveyed the tenures of the nobility, everywhere correcting injustices and conferring benefits upon the myriads of people, and all the six rulers of the tenures without exception acquiesced with his methods. He then returned to the capital of Chow, and inspected the officers who regulated the government.[1]

The King said (to them): It appears that in ancient times the principle of relying upon good government to prevent confusion, and of protecting the State before hurt was sustained, (was consistently followed out). It is said that Yaou and Shun critically examined the ancient records and appointed the one hundred officers.[2] Internal affairs were controlled by the Prime Minister and the four Superintendents, and external affairs were controlled by the Lords of the Provinces and the Lords of the Tenures, and thus all the government was harmoniously conducted and the numerous States were all tranquillised. The officers of Hia and Shang were yet more numerous, yet they also were able to render the government effective; clearly (showing) that their Kings, in establishing government, did not depend on the number of their officers, but on the (qualities of) the

men themselves. Now I, the lowly one, who have devoutly exercised myself in regard to virtue both by day and by night, without attaining to it, can aspire to a timely compliance with former rulers, by instructing and cultivating my officers.

We have appointed the Great Councillor, the Great Instructor, and the Great Protector (of the King). These are the three Dukes who determine the course of this historic country, controlling and arranging the principal and inferior posts. But the office is not of so much consequence as the man (who fills it).

The Assistant Councillor, the Assistant Instructor, and the Assistant Protector are called the *San Ku*.[3] They will assist the Dukes to extend reforms and respectfully shed forth (the virtues) of heaven and earth, thus doing yeoman service to me, the lonely man.

The Prime Minister will attend to the affairs of government, giving directions to the mandarins,[4] and disposing (all within) the Four Seas.

The Minister of Instruction will give his attention to the education of the country, inculcating the five precepts[5] for the enlightenment of the multitudes.

The Chief of the Nobility will superintend the public ceremonies, regulating (the observances due to) gods and men, and harmonising the superior and inferior (worlds).

The Master of the Horse will attend to the military affairs of the State, commanding the six legions, and maintaining the tranquillity of the States of the country.

The Minister of Justice will give attention to the admonishing of the State, passing sentence upon cabals and schisms, and punishing the outrageous and lawless.

The Minister of Public Works will concern himself[6] with the land of the State and the dwellings of the four (classes of) people, (obtaining), in due season, the produce of the soil.

These six nobles having their several respective duties, will each take the control of their subordinates, and direct the operations of the nine superintendents (of the provinces)

until they have completed the prosperity of the myriads of people.

Every six years the Lords of the Five Tenures will have one audience (with the King),[7] and every other sixth year the King will duly inspect the old regulations of government committed to the four superintendents of the regions.[8] Conformably, the Marquises will severally give audience to their superintendents of the districts, extensively showing forth their deserts.

The King continued: Yes, indeed! Let all our office-holders and men of rank appointed to government ministry be careful as to issuing commands. But when a decree is issued, let it be acted upon, and not retracted.

Let patriotism prevail over egotism, and the people will accordingly hold you in esteem. Imitate the ancients when entering upon office. Give due consideration to the prescribed regulations, and the government will not then fall into disorder. Let the statutes and fixed laws be your effective instructors, and do not allow sedition to throw the officers into confusion. Accumulated doubts will overthrow good schemes. Indolence and negligence will disorder government. Be not like those who turn their faces to the wall,[9] but in whatsoever business you engage, be in earnest about it.

Be attentive! ye learned nobles! Let the exaltation of merit be your (chief) intent; be ye diligent in the enlarging of your inheritance; and show yourselves capable of decision and determination, and thus avoid future troubles. Exalted position is not intended to encourage pride. The advantages of office are not designed for extravagance. Respect and economy are virtues (which you should cultivate), so not to become involved in deception. Practise virtue so that your minds may be at rest and daily more excellent. But if you practise deception your minds will be oppressed and daily (become more) blundering. While abiding in favour be mindful of your peril and be invariably apprehensive. For when there is not apprehension, the dreadful comes in upon us. Advance the virtuous and give place to

the capable. Let all the officers be harmonious, for without harmony the government is (foredoomed to) failure. Uphold those who are capable of office, and they will be your own efficiency, but if you promote those who are unsuitable, you will be yourselves deposed.

The King concluded: Verily! If the three men of affairs, together with all you great men, have respect to the duties of your offices, and (avoid) confusion in the affairs of government, thus giving aid to your sovereign, you will perpetually tranquillise the myriads of people, and the numerous States will be free from dissatisfaction.

NOTES ON SECTION I

This section is only contained in the ancient text.

The title is taken from the enumeration of the officers of Chow, which forms the subject-matter of this section. The King is stated in Chinese history to have made a tour of the country for the purpose of inspecting the officers and observing their administration of the government in B.C. 1102. Thus he was acting on the good advice given to him by the Duke of Chow, who at this date was deceased.

[1] There appears to be some error in the enumeration of the six tenures. The ancient division of the tenures was five in number. It is possible, however, to complete the six by including the capital of Chow and the royal precincts, a considerable territory, around which the five tenures were distributed.

[2] From this statement it would seem that Yaou and Shun had access to ancient records concerning the appointment of officers and the establishment of government. This opens up a considerable field of conjectural interest, but beyond the statement that there were several Patriarchs successively ruling over China before Yaou succeeded in B.C. 2356, not much can be said with certainty. Yiu-Chao-Shi and others are recorded to have constituted the First Dynasty, and of the Second or Patriarchal Dynasty there were Fuh-hi,

Shin-nung, Hwang-ti (the "Yellow Emperor"), Shao-Hao, Chun-hio, Ti-ko, Che, Yaou, and Shun. The immediate antecedents of the Emperor Yaou are well known, and the ancestry of Yaou is traced as far back as the Yellow Emperor, his great grandfather, but beyond that history does not go with any certainty. There has been some mention of the Book of Fuh-hi (or Foh) by classical writers, but the contents of that book are not known. It is doubtless to some such source that Yaou had access for instruction on the principles of government. The Book of Lo specifically refers to the appointment of "The Eight Regulators of Government" (see "The Great Plan," Book IV., Section VI.), and this book was discovered by Ta-yu in the bed of the Lo River in B.C. 2284, so that this is one at least of the great records which the Emperor Yaou is said to have examined.

[3] The *San-kuh* means the three men who stand alone or in positions of isolated responsibility. The word *kuh* means "alone." They may thus be called the three conspicuous or the three lonely persons.

[4] The *pih-kwan*, or "one hundred officers," frequently mentioned in the books, were the Mandarins of the Court. The Prime Minister is here called "the Universal Calculator," as in the Canon of Shun (Book I., Section II.).

[5] For an explanation of "the Five Precepts," see Notes to Book I., Section II. A comparison of the Canon of Shun with this section relating to the appointment of the Chow officers, will show that Ching-wang was very carefully following out the plan of government instituted by those ancient records to which he is said to have referred for guidance. Compare also "The Great Plan" section.

[6] The word *chang*, translated "will concern himself," means literally the palm of the hand; hence, to take in hand, to control.

[7] In a preceding passage of this section mention is made of "the six tenures." Here there are only "five" (see note 1). In the Canon of Shun it is said: In five years the Emperor made one inspection of the territories, and during the same time the host of nobles had four audiences

with him. It is therefore evident that Ching-wang was initiating some things in modification of the pattern he was following. This may be accounted for by the fact that the Empire was considerably enlarged since the days of Shun.

[8] The *Se-tsiang*, or "four workmen," were the superintendents of the four regions.

[9] The "wall-facing" people are those who show no interest in what is going on around them.

SECTION II

KIUN-CHIN [1]

THE King spoke to the following effect: Kiun-chin! You are possessed of commanding virtue, being both filial and respectful. You show filial duty and friendly regard for your elder and younger brothers, and you should be able to extend these qualities to affairs of government.

I therefore command you to regulate this our Eastern border.[2] But be respectfully cautious!

Hitherto Chow-kung has instructed and protected the myriads of people, and the populace had a sincere regard for his virtues. Go, therefore, with carefulness in entering on your ministry, and in this respect follow out the constant rules, exerting yourself to illustrate the instructions of Chow-kung, and the people will be similarly well-governed.

I have heard it said that far-reaching government is like a fragrant odour and gratifying to the resplendent deities; meat-offerings have no sweet fragrance, but pellucid virtue is odoriferous.[3] Do you therefore conformably abide by these precepts of Chow-kung, and be daily attentive (to your duties), and do not venture (to indulge in) ease and self-indulgence. Common people who have never beheld a sage act as if they could not see (enough of him), but those who have seen him are yet incapable of following his sagacity. Do you therefore be continually on the alert. You are like the wind and the lower people are like the grass.[4]

The plans of a good government are not effected without difficulty. Some things must be abolished and others must be upheld. In going out and coming in follow the counsel of the majority, and when all opinions are the same you will accordingly give them consideration.

If you have an excellent scheme or a creditable project, do you thereupon go within and announce it to your Prince in his Court, and having conformed to it in public, then say: "This scheme or this project is (due to) my Prince's virtue." Verily! if Ministers would all imitate this (practice), how good and illustrious they would be!

The King continued: O Kiun-chin! It is for you to enlarge upon Chow-kung's grand instructions. Do not rely upon your power to effect your dignity, nor take advantage of the laws to reduce (the people).[5] Be liberal and yet have (regard to) the regulations, and unconstrainedly pursue harmonious ways.

When the Yin people are subject to punishment, if I should say punish them, it is for you to not unduly do so. If I should say, excuse them, it is for you not to excuse them altogether. There should be a due medium.[6]

Should there be any who do not conform to your government, refusing to be reformed by your instructions, then punish them. For to cease from punishing is the object of punishment.[7]

When there are any given over to cabals and villainy or resisting the constant laws, or disordering the customs, these three (offences), even of small degree, must not be excused.

Do not be agitated and angry with the stupid, nor seek for perfection in any individual.

You must have patience in order to have complete control (of affairs); and you should have discretion, for that is the height of virtue.

Signalise those who have embellishments, and also take note of those who perchance are not improving;

promote the good in order to draw out those who, may be, are defective in goodness.

The people are naturally disposed to submissiveness, but because of the example of others they may become corrupted. They resist the commands of those in authority, because they follow out their own inclinations. If you are capable of respecting the statutes and of continuing in virtue, then in due time you will without exception reconvert them and truly raise them to the highest endeavour.

Then I, the solitary man, shall experience much happiness, and your excellence will at last receive full recognition throughout continuous generations.

NOTES ON SECTION II

[1] This section is only contained in the ancient text. It refers to the appointment of Kiun-chin after the death of Chow-kung in B.C 1103. Kiun-chin was ordered to regulate the Eastern border and take up his government in the completed city of Chow, now called Ching-Chow.

[2] Kiun-chin, ruler of the Eastern territory, was installed by Ching-wang after the death of the Prime Minister. It was at the eastern capital, called Ching-Chow (the complete city of Chow), that the deceased Minister had established his seat of government, taking in hand the reform of the refractory people of Yin who had been removed thither. It was there also that he desired to be interred, but the King buried him at Peih, by the illustrious Wan-wang, giving him royal honour, and appointing an annual sacrifice in the month of October to be made in the ancestral temple of Wan-wang, from whom the deceased Duke of Chow was considered to have sprung. Kiun-chin therefore took up his office as governor of the eastern capital of Ching-Chow, while the King directed his Court from the western capital of Tsung-Chow.

[3] This phrase is attributed to Chow-kung. In several

passages of previous sections similar phrases have occurred in the course of Chow-kung's instructions to the young King, but the exact passage cannot be quoted.

[4] Whereas the common people were in the habit of crowding to catch sight of such sages as Chow-kung, yet those who had the benefit of his continual intercourse were in many cases unable to follow his wise example. The expression "the lower people are like the grass" means that they are easily moved by the influence of their superiors.

[5] Kiun-chin is here cautioned not to overawe the people by his authority, not to take advantage of the laws to reduce (lit. to pare thin) the people; but to appeal to them by virtue of his wise government, and to use the laws for the protection and nourishing of his people.

[6] This does not mean that Kiun-chin should go in defiance of the royal mandates, but that he should use discretion and moderation in carrying them out. It was wise of the King to sanction this interpretation of his commands, for it was impossible for him to know the particulars of individual cases, such being left to the consideration of the territorial ruler. In this matter the King is carrying out the principle of good government already enunciated by Chow-kung, which specify that the King should wisely choose his officers, and leave the administration of the government to them (see "The Establishing of Government," Book V., Section VIII.).

[7] "To cease from punishing" means, of course, not to have occasion for punishing. That this is the end of all penal inflictions is everywhere recognised; but that the punitive method is also the corrective method is strongly contested by humane thinkers of more recent times. It is a question whether there is even mere justice in permanently branding a human being so that he bears the mark of his disgrace even though he may have reformed his principles and amended his ways. "The fear of punishment" reduces a people and keeps their spirit in subjection, restraining their

enterprise, lest they fall foul of others who have private interests at stake, and who would be jealous of trespass on the part of those beneath them. The "hope of reward," on the other hand, stimulates endeavour in the right direction, and makes appeal to the powers of the individual. Apart from these two great incentives to right action, there is the superior virtue which does good for its own sake, regardless of consequence and without hope of reward. It should be remembered, however, that the person addressed has to deal with a refractory people; and generally it may be stated that in those days the populace of China was very much like the populace of to-day, full of disordered and selfish ambitions, and newly awaking, under the light of a civilised government, to wider and more adventurous projects than were afforded by the simple agricultural life to which they had for ages been accustomed. But these conditions were not attended by any effective system of public education, for beyond the inculcation of the Five Precepts the Minister of Education had little work outside of the Third Tenure, where the literati were established, or at Court, where the flower of the intellect flourished. Consequently there was a considerable amount of newly developed energy in the country which had no individual directing power, and which, constantly running into excesses, had continually to be repressed.

General Note.—This section should rightly be the first of this Book, as the appointment of Kiun-chin historically precedes the tour of inspection made by Ching-wang to the officers of the State of Chow.

SECTION III

THE RETROSPECTIVE DECREE[1]

In the fourth month, towards the wane of the moon,[2] the King was indisposed.

On the first day of the cycle, the King having performed his ablutions, the assistants covered him with the cap and robes while he reclined on the jewelled bench.

He then called together the Great Protector Shih, the Lord of Juy, the Lord of Tung, the Duke of Peih, the Marquis of Wei, the Duke of Maou, the family Instructor, the Chief of the Warriors, the Mandarins, and the Superintendents of Affairs.[3]

The King then said: Alas! my indisposition has greatly increased and is alarming, and my sickness is daily advancing to a crisis; and having been so severe and prolonged, I am afraid that I may not be able to discourse wisely on the continuance of these my opinions, instruction, and commands to you.

The former Princes Wan-wang and Wu-wang displayed their double glory by regulating (the people's) means of subsistence and arranging their education, until the people became accustomed to it; and when once they were accustomed to it there was no longer any opposition, so that they were enabled to take the rule of Yin and concentrate the great decree (upon Chow).

The succeeding foolish man[4] respectfully received Heaven's majestic (decree), and continuously enacted the

grand instructions of Wan and Wu, not presuming either to detract from or to exceed them.

Heaven now has sent down this sickness from which, I venture to say, I shall not be raised up to recovery. But you will, nevertheless, enlighten and protect my chief son Chaou, and extensively assist him in all his difficulties.

Render compliant those that are distant and make capable those that are near,[5] resting and stimulating both small and great in all the States.

I think that men may avoid confusion by dignity and uprightness. Do you not, therefore, influence Chaou by persuading him with unworthy motives.

These, having received the decrees (of the King), withdrew, and, going out, took up their quarters in the precincts of the Court. But on the following day, the second of the cycle, the King died.[6]

The Great Protector then commanded Chung-hwan and Nan-kung-maou to commission the Marquis of Tse, Liu Kia, to take two thousand spearmen and one hundred archers and go forth to meet the Prince Chaou outside the southern gate, and escort him within (the city) to one of the wings of the palace, to reside in the place of honour as chief mourner.

On the fourth day of the cycle he commanded that the Book of Regulations should be produced.

On the seventh day thereafter, being the tenth day of the cycle, the Lord High Assistant[7] commanded the officers to furnish wood, and the inferior officers to arrange the ornamented screens and pitch the tents.

Between the windows facing the south they spread out the double basket-work mats, with the ornamental borders, and the flowery gems, as usual, upon the table.

In the western antechamber, facing the east, they spread out the double rush mats with the variegated borders, while the inscribed tortoise-shell was, as usual, upon the table.

In the eastern antechamber, facing the west, they spread out the double mats of young bamboo with the streaked borders, while the carved gems, as usual, were on the table.

In the western vestibule, facing the south, they spread out the double bamboo mats with the dark parti-coloured borders, while the varnish, as usual, (adorned) the table.

Besides, there were gems of five kinds and a display of precious things; the red knife, the great Instructions, the large Stone of Good Fortune, the resplendent Sceptre, were deposited in the western chamber; while the Great Gem, the Lesser Gem, the Celestial Sphere, and the River-Chart were deposited in the eastern antechamber. The Yin festival robes, the Great Tortoise-Shell, and the large Drum were deposited in the western chamber; while the Spear of Tuy, the Bow of Ho, and the bamboo Arrows of Shuy were deposited in the eastern chamber.[8]

The Grand Carriage was stationed facing the reception staircase; the Variegated Carriage was placed facing the departing staircase; the Advance Carriages were stationed before the apartment of the Minister of Works[9]; and the Inferior Carriage was in position before the apartment of the Minister of Instruction.[10]

Two men in service caps held halberds and stood on the inside of the front gates. Four men in spotted fawn caps held lances at the challenge by the corners of the two staircases; one man in the robes of office stood holding a hatchet in the eastern hall; another man in similar robes, holding an axe, stood in the western hall; another man, similarly robed, holding a spear, stood on the eastern landing; and another, similarly robed, holding a lance, stood on the western landing; and one man, in official robes, and holding a javelin, stood by the common staircase.

The King, in a hempen headgear and chequered robe of State, ascended the reception staircase, while the learned nobles and the Princes of the States, with hempen headgear and dark robes, entered and took up their stations.[11]

The Great Protector, the Great Historian, and the Great Master were all vested with hempen caps and scarlet robes of State.

The Great Protector, carrying the sceptre of State, and the Great Master, bearing the cup and the royal signet,[12]

ascended the reception staircase in array, and, advancing to the King with the Book of the Decrees, said :

The noble Monarch, reclining on the jewelled bench, directed the proclamation of this his last decree, wherein you are commanded to succeed him, to instruct and rule over the State of Chow, carefully following out the great mandates, enthusiastically harmonising the Empire,[13] and in your own turn showing forth the glorious teachings of Wan and Wu.

The King then bowed low, and rising up, said in reply : I, the most insignificant and incomplete (of beings), am but a little child, how can I regulate the four quarters (of the Empire) in order to (produce) respect for and thought of Heaven's Majesty ?

He then received the cup and the royal seal, which the King thrice filled, thrice offered up, and thrice poured out. The Exalted Master then said : It is received !

The Great Protector received the cup, and, descending, cleansed it ; and taking another cup, and holding the symbol of office, he responded to the libation, and giving the cup to the attendant nobleman, he made obeisance, and the King in his turn made obeisance.

The Great Protector received the cup, offered it up, and placed it to his lips and took up his position, giving the cup to the attendant noblemen, and making obeisance. The King in turn made obeisance also.

The Great Protector descended the hall, which was then cleared ; the nobility going out to the temple gate, where they waited.

NOTES ON SECTION III

General Note.—This section is especially interesting as containing a description of the coronation ceremony of the Emperors of China, prescribed by the Book of Regulations. It is found in both the ancient and modern texts, and relates to the accession of K'ang-wang, the son of Ching-wang, in the year B.C. 1077.

[1] The retrospective decree is so called because it is carried into effect after the death of the ruler who issues it. Thus in carrying out the ceremony of proclaiming and enthroning a new King, the Ministers of State are acting upon the commands of his deceased predecessor, as if he were still living; and in this sense they are "looking back" upon him.

[2] The year is B.C. 1077. The month is April, and the new moon of that month fell on the 20th of the month (O.S.), and the full moon was on the 5th May. It was therefore shortly after the 5th May, when the fourth moon was on the wane, that these events happened.

[3] These are the six nobles holding the highest offices in the government of Show. The Great Protector was Shaou-kung (the Duke of Shaou), the Lord of Juy was the Minister of Public Instruction, the Lord of Tung was the Great Master or Chief of the Barons, the Duke of Peih was Master of the Horse, the Marquis of Wei was the Criminal Judge, and the Duke of Maou was Minister of Public Works.

[4] "The succeeding foolish man" is a term of self-humiliation, equivalent to "little," "insignificant," "incapable," "solitary," etc., frequently applied by rulers of the people to themselves.

[5] The "chief son Chaou" was the son of Ching-wang, appointed to succeed him, which he accordingly did under the title of K'ang-Wang.

"Those that are distant" may mean the various outlying territorial rulers and tributary States. On the other hand, it may mean those who are alienated from the favour of the Court. "Those that are near" are of course, the Ministers and attendants of the Court.

[6] The King (Ching-wang) died on the wane of the moon, in the month of May, B.C. 1077. "The second day of the cycle" fixes this date exactly, in reference to which, see Appendix, "Chinese Divisions of Time."

[7] The Lord High Assistant is here presumed to be the Prime Minister, the Duke of Shaou.

[8] "The Great Gem and the Lesser Gem" were the sceptres of office held by the King. The various staves of office held by the Dukes, Earls, Marquises, Viscounts, and Barons are referred to in the Canon of Shun (*q.v.*) as "the Five Gems." "The Celestial Sphere" was the pearl-studded sphere which was used for determining the seasons and regulating the measure of time by astronomical observations. "The River-Chart" was a relic of the days of Fuh-hi in the twenty-ninth century B.C. Mythologically, the chart was said to have been brought out of the Yellow River by a dragon-horse. What species of creature this may have been we know not; though any student of Chinese art will observe something more or less draconic in all equine figures. This chart was said to be covered with numbers, but what use was made of them we are not informed.

[9] The Minister of Instruction and the Minister of Public Works are here called the "Left and Right Hand." Elsewhere they are called "the Attendants."

[10] These five carriages were used by the King on his various official journeys. The class of carriage employed on any occasion was determined by the nature of the function to be performed, and the grade of those whom the King visited. Thus the Grand or Pearl carriage was used for sacrificial and religious purposes, while the Inferior or wooden carriage was used when visiting the border Chiefs.

[11] The son of Ching-wang wore a chequered robe on this occasion as he was in mourning. But as he was about to be proclaimed King, he could not appear in deep mourning. The check was Court "half-mourning."

[12] The royal signet here designated was the verifying signet of which a description is given in the Notes to the Canon of Shun.

[13] What follows is a graphic description of the proclamation of the succeeding Emperor. In the modern text the Fourth Section of this Book is continued on. In the earlier text, however, it forms a separate section.

SECTION IV

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF K'ANG-WANG

THE King went forth and stood on the inside of the front gate, while the Tai-paou [1] led forth the lords of the Western region and entered by the left of the front gate, and Peih-kung led forth the lords of the Eastern region and entered in at the right of the front gate. They then arranged the ranks of yellow and red chargers, while the guests (of the Court) held aloft their sceptres and presented their gifts, saying:

Your several [2] servants of the borderlands would presume to offer these, the products of their territories; and they then together bowed their heads and made obeisance.

Then the King of justly inherited virtue also in his turn made obeisance.

The Great Protector, together with the Earl of Juy, stepped forth together and made obeisance, while (the assembled host) again made obeisance, with their heads to the ground, and said:

We presume respectfully to announce to the Son of Heaven that when Imperial Heaven diverted the decree of the great State of Yin, it was only Wan and Wu of Chow who appeared worthy to receive it, because they were capable of compassionating the Western land.

Our recently ascended King [3] so effectively combined his awards and punishments that he was enabled to establish his meritorious work and render famous the man of excellence who succeeds him.

Now therefore let your Majesty (display) the caution of respect,[4] extend the Imperial Army,[5] and do not neglect our high ancestral decree!

The King, in effect, replied: O all you territorial Marquises, Lords, and Barons of the Tenures! I, the solitary man, Chaou, would make an announcement.

The former rulers, Wan and Wu, greatly moderated and enriched (the people), and did not too severely punish (their) crimes, but used to the fullest extent an elegant sincerity, employing conspicuous intelligence throughout the empire.[6] And then, moreover, having warriors like bears and lions,[7] and Ministers who were not of two minds to protect and govern the royal house, they rendered the authorised decree to the Supreme Ruler while Imperial Heaven instructed their path, and eventually conferred (on them) an universal empire.[8]

They appointed lords of administration and established protections for the benefit of us their successors. Now, therefore, my several paternal lords! may you accordingly be disposed individually and collectively to consider how the Ministers of your former Dukes were loyal to my predecessors; and although your persons may be far removed, yet may your hearts be continually set upon the royal house; and being intimate with the anxieties of your Prince, do not abandon me, an orphan child, to shame.

The host of Dukes, having all heard this decree, bowed to one another and speedily withdrew. The King then put off his crown and resumed his mourning vesture.

NOTES ON SECTION IV

This section is continuous of the preceding one, and in the modern edition is included under the same head.

[1] The Tai-paou, or Great Protector, here referred to was the Duke of Shaou, of whom we read in the First and Fifth Sections of the Fifth Book under the name of Prince Shih.

[2] Literally, *Yih-ar, i.e.*, "one or two," an expression which

is used to cover a number of persons of various grades or degrees of influence.

[3] The "recently ascended King" was the late Ching-wang.

[4] Literally, "respects caution." The same expression is elsewhere rendered "respectful caution" and "respectfully cautious," as referring to that carefulness of demeanour which arises from a due consideration of one's own fallibility and a proper regard for the merits of others.

[5] Literally, the "six legions."

[6] Literally, "below Heaven," *i.e.*, the sub-celestial world.

[7] Like "bears" for their caution and persistence, and like "lions" for their boldness and majesty.

[8] Literally, "the four quarters."

SECTION V

THE DECREE TO PEIH

In the twelfth year[1] and the sixth month, on the seventh day of the cycle, three days after the new moon, being the ninth day of the cycle, the King went early on foot from Tsung-Chow to Fung, and taking the populace of Ching-Chow, commanded Peih-kung to protect and regulate the Eastern border.[2]

The King, in effect, spoke as follows: Verily! my paternal Instructor! Wan-wang and Wu-wang disseminated their great virtue throughout the country, and were rendered capable of receiving the decree of Yin.[3] Chow-kung, who attended these former Kings, established their house, and compelled the refractory people of Yin to remove to the Lo capital, so that they might be near to the royal residence and become reformed by his instructions. After three dozen years[4] the generation was changed and its tastes improved, until the whole Empire was devoid of contention; and I, the solitary man, enjoy tranquillity.

Every path has its ups and downs, and the government should follow the changes of custom. If we do not give credit where it is due, the people will not be stimulated (to virtuous endeavour).

Your Grace is possessed of exceeding good qualities, capable of diligence in small matters, of assisting in the enlightenment of the four classes of people,[5] of correcting

appearances, and of drawing out the lower classes with your invariably devout and instructive discourses, while your surpassing genius extends to that of former Kings, so that I, the little child, (have only) to let my robes hang down, fold my hands, and look up (to you) for the completion (of government).[6]

The King continued: Verily, my paternal Instructor! I would now command your Grace to take over the affairs of Chow-kung. Go cautiously! Distinguish and separate the law-abiding from the vicious, and sunder their places of abode. Reward the good and punish the evil doer. Set up a mark to render these (distinctions) commonly known, and those who do not follow out the instructions and statutes should have the limits of their fields removed until they are capable of fearing (that which is evil) and desiring (that which is good). Clearly define the borders of the Imperial domains, and carefully strengthen the enclosed citadels, so that all within the Four Seas may be tranquillised.

In government the essential thing is integrity, and commands should be conformable to the weight and urgency (of a case). Do not become attached to uncommon things. The tastes of the Shang people are extravagant, and clever talkers are regarded as wise men, and the remnant of their customs has not yet been obliterated. Your Grace should take this into consideration.

I have heard it said families of hereditary fortune are seldom able to cultivate urbanity, but by their excesses they baffle the virtuous and actually contravene the celestial laws,[7] impeding reforms and degrading excellent things which for ten thousand generations have remained unsullied. All these officers of Yin have become accustomed to favours, and relying on their extravagance they submerge the righteous, comporting themselves grandly before men, being excessively proud and boastful; and they will come to a bad end. For although we may put a restraint on their will, yet it is difficult to keep them within bounds. But if you can accommodate and instruct them, it may serve to extend their years.

Yet virtue and justice are nevertheless the great (points of) instruction; and if you do not cultivate the old doctrines, to what effect shall you instruct them?

The King continued: Verily, my paternal Instructor! the peace or disturbance of the State depends on these officers of Yin being neither too hard nor too lenient, their virtue being truly embellished (thereby).

Chow-kung was capable of observing carefulness in the commencement (of affairs), and Kiun-chin[8] was able to accord with the due medium (in all things); and it (only remains for) your Grace to show yourself capable of completing the end.[9] The three chiefs, being united in heart, will similarly pursue the same path. The path being uniform, the government will be well regulated, and the good influence thereof will dominate the life of the people, and the foreigners of all quarters and the strangers[10] will without exception all depend upon me, the little child, to continually secure their manifold blessings.

Your Grace will in due time establish for Ching-Chow an imperishable inheritance and also an endless fame, and posterity will inculcate your perfect example of good government.

Verily! Do not say that you cannot accomplish (the work), but devote your heart to it. Do not say that the people are inconsiderable, but be careful in your (conduct of) their affairs. Reverentially comply with the perfect merit, so that you might excel the former government (of this country of Yin).

NOTES ON SECTION V

[1] "The twelfth year" refers to the year of the King K'ang-wang's reign, and as he ascended in the year B.C. 1076, the incidents of this section transpired in B.C. 1065. The sixth month was June, and the new moon of that period fell on the 5th June (O.S.), which, as the text says, was the seventh day of the cycle of sixty days; and on the third day after the new moon the King set out for Fung.

[2] It was at Fung that the great statesman Chow-kung died, and there also K'ang-wang established his Court. It was under the jurisdiction of the Duke of Peih. It was formerly the capital of the learned ruler of Chow, Wân-wang, who designed and built it in the year B.C. 1134. The Emperor Wu-wang and his Prime Minister, Tan (Chow-kung), were buried at Peih, the seat of the Duke, to whom the command was given as recorded in this section.

After the death of Chow-kung, the government of the Eastern border was given over to Kiun-chin (Book VI., Section II.); and now, thirty-seven years later, after the death of the virtuous and moderate Kiun-chin, it is handed over to the care of Peih-kung, the Chief Minister and Instructor.

[3] The Emperor here calls the Duke of Peih his paternal instructor out of respect to his age and office. Having succeeded to Chow-kung and Kiun-chin, he becomes second to the Duke of Shaou in the Kingdom.

[4] The Chinese divided their cycle of years into periods of twelve years called "knotches," for purposes of computation, just as we speak of "decades" or periods of ten years. In China the "decade" is a period of ten days only, or one third of a month.

[5] "The four classes of people" may be rendered "the fourth generation," in which case reference would no doubt be made to generations under Wan-wang (in whom the Chow dynasty is virtually commenced), Wu-wang, Ching-wang, and the present one under K'ang-wang. The four classes of people were the nobility, the army, the traders, and the serfs.

[6] This expression is also found in the Fifth Section of the Fourth Book, where Wu-wang says the same thing of his predecessor Wan-wang.

[7] "The Celestial Laws" (*tien tao*) may be also translated "the will of Heaven," or yet may convey only the ordinary seasons of the year as determined by the course of the heavens. It is an extremely difficult phrase to render with certainty, but the context seems to suggest that these officers of Yin not only prevented the good intentions of

virtuous men, but actually went contrary to the celestial principles.

[8] Kiun-chin was appointed to the command of the Eastern Territory of Yin after the death of Tan, the Duke of Chow (B.C. 1103).

[9] "Completing the end" means to bring about the object in view.

[10] "Strangers" is literally "left-hand fashion," and refers to certain people who were distinguished from the Chung-kwo-min (the Chinese proper) by wearing their robes folded over to the left-hand side.

SECTION VI

KIUN-YA

The King [1] spoke to the following effect :

Verily, Kiun-ya, your ancestral fathers for generations were completely faithful and reliable in their official service of the Royal Household, while their accomplished merit is inscribed in the Great Register.[2]

But I, the little child, although inheriting (that which) Wan, Wu, Ching, and K'ang have handed down as the key (to successful government), and having also the Ministers of the former King who are able to regulate affairs in all directions, am yet distressed and troubled in my mind, as if I had trodden upon the tail of a tiger or was walking upon ice in the springtime.

Now, therefore, I command you, my associate, to be my legs and arms, my heart and backbone, to carry out your appointed office, and not bring disgrace upon your progenitors. Do you increase and spread abroad the five precepts, directing and harmonising the people accordingly. If you can straighten yourself, none will dare to be crooked. The popular mind will not be moderate if you yourself do not observe the middle path (of moderation). During the summer heats and rains, the lesser people will only talk resentfully and murmuringly ; and in the winter season's cold they will complain and sigh. Indeed ! your task is a difficult one !

But if you consider their troubles and make plans for their relief, the people will remain tranquil enough.

Verily! the maxims of Wan-wang were great and manifest! How well they were sustained by the efforts of Wu-wang! They have instructed and aided us their successors, being all of them correct and without defect! Do you therefore respectfully set forth their instructions and endeavour to imitate the former Kings, acclaiming and disseminating the glorious decrees of Wan and Wu, and thus become worthy (of mention) with your predecessors.

The King concluded by saying: Kuin-ya! Do you cultivate the old precepts of the former Kings and take them for your pattern. The good government or confusion of the people depends upon this. Therefore, follow out your progenitors' practice of government, and render illustrious your sovereign's rule.

NOTES ON SECTION VI

[1] The King here mentioned is Muh-wang, who was the son of Chaou-wang and the grandson of K'ang-wang. His own name was Muon. He began to reign in the year B.C. 1000. His father was treacherously drowned in the Han River while on a voyage of inspection, and the seditious state of the country at this time was the cause of great anxiety to the succeeding monarch.

[2] Kiun-ya was chosen to be Minister of Instruction in the year B.C. 997, and this section records the instructions of the King to his Minister. The Great Register was a record of the Great Historian, and was revised every twelve years.

Note.—This section is only found in the old text.

SECTION VII

THE DECREE TO KUNG

THE King spoke to the following effect: Pih-kung![1] I am not capable of (sufficient) virtue to succeed to my predecessors who occupied the position of great Princes. I am exceedingly alarmed, and in the midst of the night I rise up to consider how I may allay my agitation.

Formerly, in the times of Wan and Wu, they hearkened intelligently to the directions of the sages, and officers both small and great cherished fidelity and goodness; while the attendants, the charioteers, and emissaries were without exception men of correct conduct. From morn till eve they waited upon and assisted their sovereign; whether going out or coming in, rising up or at rest, they did not lose their respect. When orders or commands were given, they were not disregarded; the lower classes were devoutly compliant, and the numerous States were all well-disposed.

But I, the solitary man, am deficient in goodness, and am actually dependent on my attendants in every direction[2] to control my defects, adjust my errors, strengthen my weakness, quell my false heart, and give me ability to carry on the efforts of my predecessors.

Now, therefore, I command you to be the Great Superintendent (of the Household);[3] to take control of all my servants, attendants, and charioteers; to stimulate the Prince in virtue, and continually embellish (whatever) is defective.

Be careful in selecting your officers. Do not take those of voluble speech and commanding visage, nor flatterers and sycophants, but (employ only those) who are reputable men.

When the serving officers are (men of) rectitude, the Prince will be capable of correction; but when the serving officers are flatterers, the Prince will think himself a sage. A Prince's virtue is (that of) his Ministers; his lack of virtue is also theirs. Do not associate with meddlesome men who will stop the ears and eyes of your officers, and induce superiors to falsify the statutes of former Kings.

If you deny to men their good repute and hold the wealthy in esteem, you will, in course of time, render your officers useless and greatly wanting in respect to their sovereign, and you will meet with my displeasure.

The King concluded: By all means, be respectfully cautious; and continually assist your Prince to maintain the lawful regulations.

NOTES ON SECTION VII

This section is only found in the ancient text.

[1] Pih-kung, the Lord of Kung, was appointed at the same time as Kiun-ya in B.C. 997. He was then made Master of the Household, and his functions are recited in this section.

[2] Literally, "Left, right, in front and behind"; an expression evidently intended to signify those officers by whom the King was immediately surrounded.

[3] The text says "Great Corrector" (*Ta-cheng*), but the historical records inform us that Pih-kung was Master of the Household, and the text subsequently details the functions of that officer. The departure may therefore be allowed.

SECTION VIII

THE LEW PENAL CODE

THE decree of Lew (was formulated) when the King had enjoyed (the government of) the country for a number[1] of years and had become afflicted with age and lassitude. Wherefore (he made a regulation) to enforce this penal code in order to admonish (the people) of all parts.

The King said: It would appear from instructions (we have received) from the ancients, that the Chi-yiu people were the first to bring about confusion, from whom it extended to peaceable subjects, who without exception became either robbers and plunderers, birds of night preying on the righteous, conspirators and villains, marauders and assassins. The people of Meaou were unmerciful in their regulations regarding punishments. They instituted five kinds of terrible inflictions and called them laws, putting many innocent people to the death. Thus they began their turbulence by slitting noses and ears, emasculating and branding, and those who adhered to the laws were similarly treated without allowing them to plead their cause.

The people then rose up in mutual vilification, being in (a state of) dismay and confusion, and paid no regard to sincerity, but controverted oaths and contracts. Oppression held its awful sway, and numbers were put to death, loudly protesting their innocence to the (Powers) on high.

The Supreme Ruler then examined the people (of Meaou), and (it was seen that) they did not possess the sweet odour

of virtue, but that their punishments gave forth a discordant sound.

The Imperial Ruler [2] then showed pity on the multitude who were slain in their innocence, and repaid their oppressors with his dread majesty, cutting off the Meaovites and leaving them without generations in the lowest condition.

He then commanded Chung-Li [3] to cut off the communication between the terrestrial and celestial,[4] so not to incur further afflictions until the host of Princes and even the subordinate officers intelligently displayed and carried out the constant laws, while the destitute and the widows were not exempt (from their aid).

The Imperial Ruler earnestly enquired of the lower people whether the poor and the widows had any charges to prefer against the Meaovites, for his virtue was majestic and inspired dread, his virtue was luminous and produced intelligence!

He then commanded the three Princes (to manifest) the merit of anxiety in regard to the people. Pih-E (was directed) to communicate the ceremonial rites and to regulate the people by (means of) the penal code. Yu (was commanded) to level the waters and the land, and determine all the hills and rivers; while Tseih (was instructed) to communicate (the methods of) sowing and planting, so that the husbandman might cultivate the best grain.

The three Princes completed their meritorious work and enriched the people.

The magistrates (were also commanded) to establish the laws of the people [5] and to inflict due punishments, so that they might be taught to show respect to the virtuous.

When such deferential condescension exists in high persons, and such clear intelligence in those beneath them is displayed in every direction, then without exception there is a diligent practice of virtue, which might be enhanced by the moderate use of the penal code, and induce the people to accept good government and assist in its regulations.

The Criminal Judge would then not only enforce the laws against the powerful, but also against the rich; and being

respectful and considerate, he would not have to make choice of his words out of regard to his own person, but being capable of practising the celestial virtue in himself, he would carry out the chief decrees and worthily enjoy (the respect of) those beneath him.

The King continued: O you Government Officers and Criminal Judges in every part, are you not the delegated Shepherds of Heaven? And now, what have you to imitate if not this Pih-E, who by the free use of the penal code induced (the people to orderly conduct)? And what have you to be warned of? Is it not these Meaovites who neglected to enquire into criminal cases, and who failed to select proper persons to look into the suitable application of the five punishments? These people were altogether overbearing and greedy of gain, disposing the regulation of the five punishments in order to confound the innocent.

The Supreme Ruler did not tolerate this, but brought the crime home to the people of Meaou, who had no plea to extenuate (their penalty), and therefore he cut off their generations.

The King continued: Yes, indeed! Consider this carefully, my senior uncles and brothers, my junior uncles and younger relations, my children and grandchildren, and do you all hearken to my words! You have all been charged with the decree, and now therefore do you invariably cultivate attentiveness to daily exertion. Do you continually guard against indolence! Heaven has brought together the people and given us one day (in which to govern them).[6] Our failure or success depends on individuals.

Do you therefore respectfully comply in furthering the celestial decree in order to aid me, the solitary man.

Although (I may be) overbearing, it is not for you to be dreadful; and though (I may be) satisfied, it is not for you to approve, but only to respectfully (enforce) the five punishments in order to make perfect the three virtues.

Thus the solitary man will have cause for satisfaction, and the myriads of people will be properly controlled, and their tranquillity will be continual.

The King continued: O you who possess States and territories, come, and I will inform you of the appropriate punishments. Whilst you are not engaged in resting the people, what have you to choose, if not the (right) man? What have you to respect, if not the penalties? What have you to regulate, if not the furthest limits (of the country)?

Both parties to a cause being present, the counsel shall listen to the five (kinds of) charges, and if (any one of) the five kinds of charges are adopted and approved, then (the case) must be adjusted to (one of) the five kinds of penalties; and if (none of) the five punishments are suitable, then (let the case) be regulated by (one of) the five compensations; and if the five (kinds of) compensation do not hold good, then determine the case by one of the five kinds of error.[7]

The five errors to be apprehended (may be due to) official influence, animosity, interference, bribery, and solicitation.

Let the offences be treated with perfect justice, examining them as far as you can.

Where there is any doubt as to the (application of) the five inflictions, then exercise leniency. When there is doubt about the imposition of fines, show moderation, but give the matter your fullest consideration.

When a case is properly sustained, you may have confidence (in your verdict). But evidence must be considered, and if the case is not substantiated, it must not be entertained. Be ever mindful of Heaven's majesty!

When doubt exists as to the punishment of branding, commute the sentence to six hundred taels (of silver), but enquire and make sure of the reality of the offence.

When doubt exists as to the punishment of cutting off the nose, show indulgence and impose a fine of double the (foregoing) amount, but be sure of the actual offence.

When doubt exists as to the penalty of cutting the hamstring, commute the sentence to the payment of a fine of double the amount or more, but be sure of the reality of the offence.

When doubt exists as to the penalty of emasculation, be merciful and impose a fine of thirty-six hundred taels (of silver), but enquire as to the reality of the offence.

When there is doubt as to the infliction of the capital punishment, you may commute the sentence by a fine of one thousand times six hundred taels, but be sure of the actuality of the crime![8]

Of the cases of branding fines there are one thousand; of nose-cutting fines, one thousand; of hamstringing fines, five hundred; of emasculation fines, three hundred; and of capital fines, two hundred. Thus of the five kinds of punishments there are three thousand (which may be extenuated and commuted by fine).[9]

There are higher and lower sorts of offence; therefore do not undertake confused charges, and do not make use of irregular (punishments); but try each case according to the laws, and examine each as far as possible.

If the higher punishment ought to be mitigated, the lower should be imposed; and if the lower kind of punishment ought to be increased, then the higher penalty should be imposed; and the lightness or severity of the prescribed fines should be controlled by the circumstances,[10] the punishments and compensations being (according to) the nature of the times.[11] Thus you may adjust irregularities, observing proper order and as occasion may require.

Fines for the repression of crime do not occasion death, but yet men may be punished to excess. Therefore do not (employ) rougish persons to try criminal cases, but let honest men try the causes, for they will invariably observe moderation. Examine the charges as to whether they are liable to error, and do not proceed, or else proceed (according to your judgment). Be compassionately respectful in trying criminal cases, and intelligently expound the Book of Penalties, that all may consider it, and then let everyone in all things be moderate and correct. In regard to penalties and fines, it is important that you should employ the utmost scrutiny.

Criminal cases being completed, let them be duly certified

and reported, so that the sentences of the higher (court) may be complete; and if there be a double offence, let the punishment be also double.[12]

The King continued: Verily! do you be respectfully cautious! you official nobles of tribal name! I speak with much circumspection. I myself would be respectfully cautious in regard to punishments. Now as Heaven befriends the people, do you act worthily in regard to those beneath you. Be intelligently dispassionate in regard to direct charges,[13] and in regulating the people the invariable method of the due medium is to hear criminal cases only before two (or more) witnesses. Do not by any chance allow family prejudice to interfere in those cases where there are several pleaders.

The proceeds of criminal cases should not be allowed to accumulate; for they are of evil merit and are followed by many attendant ills.

Be continually fearful in regard to compensations. It is not Heaven that fails in moderation; it is the man who sits in judgment. If celestial retributions were not perfect in regard to the common people, there would be no good government under Heaven!

The King concluded: Verily, my succeeding generations. From henceforth what should you look to, if not the virtue of moderating the people? Do you therefore intelligently listen to what I have said. Wise men have (devised) punishments for an unlimited (number of) charges, and by the use of the five perfections[14] have all (observed) the due medium and attained to happiness.

Receive, therefore, the King's felicitous counsel and minutely look into these appropriate penalties.

NOTES ON SECTION VIII

[1] It was in the year B.C. 950 that the Emperor Muh-wang drew up the code of punishments instituted by Lew. He had then reigned for fifty years, and was becoming

senile and listless. The Marquis of Lew was the Criminal Judge of the Empire at that time, and in view of the recent troubles of the Government it was deemed necessary to strengthen the penal code. Both the ancient and modern texts have this section.

[2] The "Imperial Ruler" refers to Shun, under whose wise government the five kinds of punishment were instituted, together with the awards of merit. The code of Shun differs considerably from that which was instituted by Lew, as will appear from later notes on the text.

[3] Chung-li was Master of the Ceremonies in the time of Shun, B.C. 2250. It is here evident that the rulers of the Chow dynasty had access to the ancient records of those times.

[4] The text literally says: "Cut off Earth-Heaven communication," and the words *Tu-Tien* (Earth-Heaven) are frequently used to signify Divine Providence. By this command to Chung-li we may understand that the Emperor abolished for the time being all the religious ceremonies by which the intercourse between the celestial and natural worlds was established and maintained. For when the people were unruly and tumultuous, such communication may have been the cause of severe visitations of Heaven's wrath. It was certainly a devout spirit that suggested the suspension of religious rites in times of turmoil. It was as if Shun would say to his people: When you are at peace among yourselves, you may again approach the Gates of Heaven, but until then, do not profane the temple with your presence! Even the Christian would not, without offence to the institutes of the Church, partake of the Sacrament until he had made his peace with his fellow-creatures. The Pagan was of the same heart and mind.

The sun shines upon the just and the unjust, and the dews of Heaven fall equally on the worthy and unworthy. It is so with the light of the Divine countenance and with the gifts of Heaven. The light is the same, but the bodies upon which it falls are different, and this difference of nature converts the nature of light by reflecting it in

different modifications, some things being black, some green, and others red in the same light. The sun's rays falling on a well-organised body will increase its vitality and growth; but falling on a disorganised body, the same rays will produce putrefaction. The continuance of the ceremonials in times of insurrection may therefore be liable to produce afflictions and not blessings. Hence they were discontinued.

[5] The people are here called "the one hundred clans."

[6] The expression "one day" is rather doubtful. It may mean "a short time only," or may here be used in the sense that we say "in our day."

[7] The five punishments are recited in the Canon of Shun (*q.v.*), together with the circumstances under which monetary compensations might be substituted. But Shun directed that in cases of error the offending parties were to be forgiven, but if they repeated their offences, then they were to be punished. He did not suggest that every offence or crime might be compensated by fines, but specified some light offences which might thus be dealt with. Lew, on the other hand, instituted this system of commuting all offences by fines, irrespective of the nature of the crime, so that a manifest injustice was done to the poor who could not afford the heavy ransoms demanded. In Shun's system of justice, there were five crimes which could not be pardoned or commuted, and for those he decreed the five punishments (see Canon of Shun). The text in this part of the work is not in the literary style at all, but consists of a series of notes and abbreviated sentences, extremely difficult of translation. Considerable pains have been taken to grasp and render the true sense of the text.

[8] A tael or *liang* of silver weighs about one ounce avoirdupois. The idea of any poor criminal being able to produce such a quantity of silver as is here mentioned at once shows the injustice of the Code of Lew.

[9] The system of Lew is here shown to be nothing but a graduated scale of injustices, dispensed under veil of apparently scrupulous integrity. "Be sure of the reality

of the offence!" says the Emperor, and forthwith prescribes a penalty from which only the very rich could escape by payment of fine; while for an offence committed in time the poor man must pay a lifelong penalty in his own person.

[10] "Controlled by the circumstances" admits of the possibility of mitigating causes bearing upon a case. These causes have already been detailed in the text.

[11] The expression "according to the times" (lit. generations easy, generations severe) refers to the oft-repeated command, that in times of tranquillity punishments should be light, in moderate times they should be just, and in troublesome times severe.

[12] This seems to indicate that there were at that time Examining Judges of the lower court and Chief Justices of the higher court, to which latter the records might be referred in case of appeal. All causes and the verdicts attaching to them were eventually recorded in the Red Book, or Book of Offences. In cases where there had been two offences and two concurrent sentences, these were separately recorded.

[13] Direct charges are those where there is either no witness at all, or only one.

[14] The text is very obscure in this passage, and the sense can only be grasped at and inefficiently rendered.

SECTION IX

THE DECREE TO THE MARQUIS WAN

The King said in effect: Father E-ho.[1] How greatly illustrious were Wan and Wu! How capable and careful was their resplendent virtue! Conspicuously it rose on high, and was extensively heard below. For this cause the Supreme Ruler concentrated his decree on Wan-wang. Moreover, former statesmen were capable of assisting and conspicuously (conducting) the affairs of their sovereigns, so that projected schemes were invariably carried out. Wherefore our ancestral predecessors securely occupied their thrones.

Verily, have compassion on me, a little child, who upon my succession have encountered Heaven's so great rebuke! My resources, instead of being beneficial to the lower people, have been exhausted by these incursions of the Tartars, whereby the families of my country have been disjointed. Among my official men of affairs there are perhaps no old and experienced men who are particularly clever in their stations, and I myself am equally incapable! I ask, (of those who associated with) my grandfather and my father,[2] who is there who shows any anxiety on my account? Verily! were you but (capable of taking) the responsibility off me, a solitary man, I should be perpetually tranquil on my throne!

Father E-ho! You are capable of showing forth the

(brilliant qualities) of your illustrious ancestors. You have from the first taken the example of Wan and Wu, and have rendered compact and secure (the fortunes) of your sovereign, thus manifesting a filial regard for your accomplished predecessors.[3] You have oftentimes sustained and shielded me in difficulties, and therefore, in regard to such as you, I may be well pleased.

The King continued: Father E-ho! Return and inspect your troops, tranquillise your State, and make use as an offering in your (ancestral temple) of one cup of refined black millet, one black bow, one hundred black arrows, and a stud of four horses.

Father E-ho, go cautiously! Render compliant those that are distant, and capable (those that are) near: regulate and tranquillise the lower people, and do not wrongfully follow easy ways. Look after and compassionate your citizens, and render complete your illustrious virtue![4]

NOTES ON SECTION IX

This section is found in both the ancient and modern texts.

[1] The King here mentioned is Ping-wang, and the incident of this record took place in the year of his accession, B.C. 768.

E-ho was the name of the Marquis Wan, otherwise known as Kew, Marquis of Tsin. His service to the King was conspicuous, for he not only assisted in repelling the Tartars who had been incited to invade the country of Chow, but also he supported the King's accession when it was disputed by Pih-fuh, son by a second wife of his father the Emperor Yew-wang. He is here called E-ho as a familiar friend, and "father" out of respect.

[2] The grandfather of Ping-wang was the Emperor Siuen-wang, and his father was Yew-wang. Nia (Yew-wang) had two wives, the first being the Empress Shin, who bore a son named E-kew; and the second was Pow-sha, who bore

a son named Pih-fuh, B.C. 777. Six years later Yew-wang deposed his Empress and the heir-apparent, and gave the title and succession to Pow-sha and her son Pih-fuh. Thence arose the trouble of those times. E-kew took shelter in the Shin country, and when the Marquis of Shin was asked by Yew-wang to surrender him, he refused, and sought the assistance of the western Tartars in an attack on the Chow country. Eventually the Emperor was killed by the Tartars, and the nobility combined to set up E-kew under the title of Ping-wang.

[3] This may read more literally: Your former Wan men. The King (Ping-wang) is speaking to one of the family of Wan, "the accomplished."

[4] This is the customary form of dismissal after appointment has been made, and will be recognised as having already occurred in the text of former sections. The appointment of Wan here recorded was that of Ruler of the Western State. Ping-wang had already removed his capital eastward to the city of Lo, in order to avoid further hurt from the incursions of the (*Jung*) Tartars.

SECTION X

THE PI OATH

THE Duke said: O my people, do not fret yourself, but hearken to my commands.

Previous to this the Hwai-e and Hseu-jung people[1] have risen up together.[2]

Brace on well your helmets and armour, (said the Duke), bind on your shields, and do not dare to be inefficient. Prepare your bows and arrows, temper your lances and barbs, sharpen your swords and knives, and do not dare to (let anything) be out of order!

Now that we have opened out the enclosed pasture for the oxen and horses, do you close your traps and shut down your pits, and do not dare to injure the cattle. For if the cattle in pasture are hurt, you will accordingly suffer the regulation penalties.[3] Should the horses or the oxen break lose, or should men or women servants abscond, do not dare to join in their pursuit; but (should you) respectfully bring them back, I will consider about compensating you. But should you join in the pursuit and not return, you will accordingly suffer the regulation punishments.

Let none dare to commit robberies and thefts, getting over fences and boundary walls to deploy horses and cows, nor decoy men-servants or maid-servants, or you will be liable to the prescribed penalties.

On the tenth day of the cycle I shall attack the Hseu-

jung people. Do you therefore gather together the necessary provisions, and do not dare to be inadequate, or you will suffer severe penalties.

You men of Lu from the three districts and outskirts, do you collect the planks and piles (for the defences), for on the eleventh day of the cycle I intend to construct the outworks. Do not dare to have any deficiency, or you will forthwith incur discreditable penalties, if not death.

Men of Lu from the three districts and outskirts, do you gather together a quantity of provender, and do not dare to let it be insufficient, or you will be liable to great penalties.[4]

NOTES ON SECTION X

This section occurs in both the ancient and modern texts.

[1] The Hwae-i and Hseu-jung foreigners having rebelled, the Marquis of Lu (here called the Duke) was commanded to go and reduce them. He therefore called upon his people and put them under military tribute, and assembling his troops at Pi, put them under oath of fidelity.

[2] The Hwae-i foreigners have previously been mentioned as having revolted with the Hseu-jung people (Tartars) in the time of Ching-wang, when they allied themselves to the uncles of the Emperor in a general rising, which was subdued by Pih-K'in, the Earl of Lu (B.C. 1111). The incident of the present record appears to have recalled this former revolt to the mind of Hwuy, the Duke of Lu. Hence the expression: "Previous to this, etc."

[3] It appears that the people were in the habit of entrapping horses and cows by means of pitfalls and other snares; hence the prohibition.

[4] The subsidising of the people of Lu and the penalties attaching to disobedience are here recorded.

SECTION XI

THE OATH AT TSIN

The Duke said: O my officers! Hearken without tumult to my oath, which I announce to you as the head and front of all I have to say.

The ancients had a proverb which says: When people are independent they please themselves and have every satisfaction. In reproving others they find no difficulty, but in receiving reproof they give it a free channel. That is the difficulty![1]

The trouble of my mind is that the days and months have gone by, and it would seem that they will not again return.[2]

Of old diplomats we say that they do not comply with our desires, but modern councillors so advise us that they are received with open arms. But although they withhold their assent, we should still endeavour to consult these yellow-haired men,[3] and then there would be nothing wrong.

That good old officer, although his strength has become wasted, I would still prefer to have him; while those young and vigorous yeomen, shooting and riding without fault, I do not desire them! And as for those who constantly deter goodness by their wrangling discourse, causing young Princes to neglect their charges, our Emperor has already too many of them![4]

Intelligently reflecting (upon this), I am led to think that if we had one Minister who was dispassionately faithful, whose mind was exceedingly upright, one who could show forbearance, and who, seeing men possessed of talents (could feel) as though he himself possessed them, or seeing men of surpassing wisdom could in his heart love them, and not merely say so with his mouth; such an one might be allowed to protect my sons and grandsons and the black-haired people, and also to transact the affairs (of the nation).

But if men have talents, to envy and hate them; and other men having surpassing wisdom, to obstruct and prevent their advancement—such could not be tolerated, nor could such an one protect my children and grandchildren and the black-haired people. Moreover, I should say how hurtful he would be!

A country's disturbances are said to originate with one man, and the State's glorious tranquillity also depends upon the felicitous conduct of one man.[5]

NOTES ON SECTION XI

This section is contained in both the ancient and modern texts.

[1] The Duke who is here addressing his officers is the Duke Muh, who had been foolishly advised that he had only to march upon the Ching country in order to possess it. On consulting his veteran counsellor, Khien-shuh, he was told not to attempt the business. The Duke, however, was urged forward by his younger and more ambitious officers, and he accordingly sent three generals to make an attack upon Ching. At this time the Chow dynasty was in a rapid decline, and the country was in the hands of the territorial Princes, the whole country being in a ferment of unrest and civil warfare. The Duke of Tsin suffered defeat, and arraigned his troops at T'ae. The prelude of his speech is here recorded.

[2] The duke is distressed in mind because he thinks that he may never have the opportunity of retrieving his loss.

[3] The ruler of Tsin regrets not having taken the advice of his old counsellor. The expression "yellow-haired men" refers to the very old and experienced. They say that an experienced man has grey hair, and an old man has white hair; but when a man is very old his hair is yellow.

[4] The good old officer is Khien-shuh; the young yeomen are those who were eager to rush upon a disastrous warfare; and the man of wrangling discourse is Ki-tze, who first of all advised the march upon Ching.

[5] "The one man" may here be the "solitary individual," an expression of self-commiseration frequently employed by Kings of China. Hence, in this case, it would dignify the ruler of the country, *i.e.*, the Duke himself.

APPENDIX

ON CHINESE DIVISIONS OF TIME

From very ancient times the Chinese have regulated the measure of time and adjusted the calendar to the motions of the celestial bodies. Without some knowledge of their methods it would be impossible to assign dates to the several incidents of the ancient history.

In the earliest pages of the *Shu king* it is stated that the Emperor Yaou informed Hi and Ho, the Calculator and Recorder of the Astronomical Department of the State, that the full year consisted of "three hundred and sixty-six days." This is a step in the direction of correcting the yet more ancient or antediluvian year of 360 days, which was made up of twelve months of thirty days each. It is therefore certain that in the days of Yaou, B.C. 2355, observations of the passage of the sun through the constellations must have been made.

But it also appears that the Emperor knew something more than the mean length of the year, for he says: "Do you therefore take an intercalary (or 'accommodation') month to settle the four seasons and complete the tropical year" (*E jun yue, ting sze she, ching sui*).

It was determined that the solar year consisted of 365 days and 235–940ths; also that the lunar year consisted of 354 days and 348–940ths. Hence there was an excess of the solar over the lunar year of ten days and 827–940ths. Thus the intercalary days of a single year are ten days

and 827–940ths, and this in nineteen years amounts to 206 days and 673–940ths, which is exactly equal to seven lunar months of twenty-nine days and 499–940ths each, or 29d. 12h. 44m. 25s. 26t., as calculated by the ancients. This differs from Herschel's computation by an excess of 22s. 39t. only.

Therefore, by intercalating seven lunations or months in nineteen years, the Chinese kept their calendar in line with the sun and moon, and consequently with the seasons and the tropical year.

Years were counted in cycles of sixty years each, the first of which began in the "beginning of spring" in the year B.C. 2696 (astronomical).* To designate these years they employed syllabic roots and branches. The roots were ten in number, namely: Kia, yih, ping, ting, wu, ki, kang, sin, jin, and kwei. The branches were twelve in number, namely: Tsze, chao, yin, mao, shin, sze, wu, wi, sheen, yiu, sia, and hai.

The first root and the first branch together gave the name to the first year, kia-tsze; the second root and the second branch together gave the name to the second year, yih-chao; and so on.

The days of the year are indicated by the day of the month, as, for example, the first day of the third month, or the fifth day of the seventh month, the beginning of the month being counted from the day of the new moon.

But they also made use of the same series of "roots" and "branches" in respect to a cycle of sixty days, and this is chiefly used for historical purposes. There is considerable difficulty in applying this cycle to any particular date, owing to the intercalation of the seven months in the course of nineteen years.

In the antediluvian year of 360 days there was no difficulty in the use of such a cycle, as it was contained in the year exactly six times; but when the calendar was re-

* The astronomical year for years B.C. is one less than the secular year; thus B.C. 2696 is the secular year 2697. Throughout this work the astronomical year is observed.

formed by Chuen Hio, B.C. 2504, and confirmed by Yaou, there was a residue of five days in the year which overlapped the cycle of days; but it is understood which years, in the course of the nineteen years, take the intercalary month, and this enables one to calculate on what day of the cycle in successive years the first day of the year will fall.

It is stated in the *Kang Muh* that Chuen Hio fixed the "beginning of Spring" at the midway point between the winter solstice and the Spring equinox, which is about the 5th February, in terms of our modern calendar. The Romans set the beginning of Spring on the 9th February.

The new moon which fell nearest to the "beginning of Spring" marked the first day of the year, and that moon was called the First Moon. The Chinese further divided the month into three decades of "ten days each."

The sixty-year cycle they divided into five periods of twelve years each, called *Ki* (knotches or records), and in this way the entire circle of the Heavens was equivalent to sixty years, while each sign of the Zodiac was equal to twelve years. Hence they used the same word *Ki* to indicate the zodiacal divisions.

Until the time of T'ang (Ching-T'ang), B.C. 1764, the year began in February; but on that Emperor's accession, after the overthrow of the Hia dynasty, the year began in January, *i.e.*, with the new moon of that month. But in thus setting the beginning of the year a month earlier, T'ang did not alter the astronomical facts, but only affected certain conventional customs. Thus the Annual Sacrifice accordingly took place at the new moon of January instead of the February lunation. The beginning of the year continued to be observed in January till B.C. 1120, when the beginning of the year was advanced to December, in order to mark the establishment of the Chow dynasty. But Confucius and other historians usually count the moons from January. The December initiation was more or less popularly adhered to till the year B.C. 103, when the ancient usage of beginning the year in February was restored, and has since been continued.

Just as in the use of our date-figures A.D. 1904 we understand that at the beginning of that year one thousand nine hundred and four years have passed since a certain epoch, so the Chinese, when making use of the cycles and years, understand the same thing. Thus, Cycle XXVI., year 41, would mean that 26 times 60 plus 41 years, or 1601 years, have passed since the beginning of the cycles; and as this epoch fell in the year B.C. 2696, we have the year B.C. 1095 as the date indicated.

Then, instead of saying January, February, March, etc., they count by moons—First Moon, Second Moon, Third Moon, etc.; and the precise day is specified by number of days from the lunation, as "the fifth day of the moon." As the new moons fall on the same day of the year every nineteen years, it is always possible to fix the exact date when the cycle and year are given. But sometimes the "day of the moon" is replaced by the "day of the cycle," *i.e.*, of the cycle of sixty days, and in such case the count is made from the first day of the year and the corresponding day of the same or a preceding cycle. The year of the King's reign is usually given by historians in addition to the year of the cycle. Thus in the *Chun-tsiu* of Confucius it is said:

Hwan-kung (Prince of Lu, B.C. 711) *jin-shin* (ninth year of cycle), *san nien* (third year of Hwan-kung) *tsiu* (the autumn) *tseih yue* (seventh moon) *jin-shin* (twenty-ninth day of cycle) *so jih* (that sun) *yiu* (had) *shih chi ki* (total eclipse).

Here we have the epoch B.C. 711, in addition to the cycle epoch of B.C. 2696, to indicate the year B.C. 708, and the "seventh moon" is of course July. Thus it is always possible to certify any date in Chinese history where sufficient data are given, and throughout the pages of the *Shu king* we have many such marks of genuineness if none of authenticity; but it is always possible to maintain that the records must have been made contemporaneously, since the whole of the Book was accessible to Confucius in the sixth century B.C., and to suppose that the dates of eclipses

and other events, reaching back to some fifteen centuries before his day, could have been retrogressively calculated, would be to give the Chinese credit for a much greater and far more ancient knowledge of astronomy than has yet been attributed to them, or even claimed by their most enthusiastic admirers.

It is fairly certain, however, that their system of observations and records, such as was carried out even in the days of Yaou, must have led them to an observation of the precession of the equinoxes, although the reasons for the phenomena may have escaped them. But so far as we know, their astronomy consisted of more or less accurate observations of the positions of the sun, moon, and five planets, in reference to the Zodiac and the constellations. They were careful, even to the institution of penalties for error, in their observations of eclipses, comets, and other celestial phenomena, and had some idea of the interplay of positive and negative forces in nature, and the cause of earthquakes.

DYNASTIC PERIODS

The Patriarchal Period began in the year B.C. 2943 (or thereabout) in the person of Fo, or Fuh-hi, by many supposed to be the first of the race, the "Adam" of the Far East. He was followed by Shin-nung, B.C. 2828; Hwang-ti, 2688; Shao-Hao, 2588; Chuen-hia, 2504; Ti-ko and Chi, 2425; Yaou, 2355; and Shun, 2253—these dates being the first year of the reign.

The *Shu king* deals only with Yaou and Shun.

The *Hia Dynasty* began in the person of Ta-yu, B.C. 2203, and includes the reigns of fifteen monarchs, terminating in Kia-kwei, who was overthrown by Ching-T'ang in the year B.C. 1764. The *Shu king* deals with incidents in the reigns of five of these monarchs, namely: Ta-yu, Khe, Tai-kang, Chang-kang, and Kia-kwei.

The *Shang Dynasty* began in the person of Ching-T'ang, and embraced a period of six hundred and forty-four years,

during which there were twenty-eight rulers of the Middle Kingdom (China proper). The *Shu king* deals with incidents in the reigns of five of these rulers, namely : Ching-T'ang Tai-kia, Puon-kung, Wu-ting, and Chow-sin.

The *Chow Dynasty* was founded by Wu-wang, B.C. 1120, and endured for eight hundred and seventy-one years, during which period there were thirty-five rulers. The *Shu king* deals only with some incidents in the reigns of five of these rulers, namely : Wu-wang, Ching-wang, K'ang-wang, and Muh-wang in succession, followed after an interval of two hundred and thirty years by Ping-wang.

At this point in the history of the country the record is taken up by Confucius in his *Chun-tsiu*, which treats of the incidents in the reigns of the successive Princes of Lu, in which territory the historian was born in December B.C. 550. It is reasonable to suppose that, as the office of the Great Historian was continually filled during the whole period from Yu to Ping-wang, the history was at one time complete. But the Great Record having been lost, and the documents at the disposal of Confucius being both incomplete and disordered, the Historical Classic is at this date less complete than probably was the case in the days of the accomplished literary ruler Wan-wang.

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